1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 009 Tonga 009

only the matapule and chiefs wore tapa *vala*, the *tua* men wore a *vala* of *losi* leaves, called *sisi losi*, but the *tua* women wore these only when poverty-stricken. The *tua* wore tapa only on dress-occasions, and then it was a worn out piece, descending to them from a previous owner of higher station.

In the presence of superiors or on occasions necessitating an outward show of respect, the *taovala*, an old mat, was worn over the regular *vala*. young members of a chiefly family, both men and women, often wore *longangatu*, ordinary tapa treated with coconut oil to make it smell sweet.

Anciently it was the practice for chiefs to wear the *vala* or skirt-like garment to half-way between ankle and knee, otherwise they were said to be "cooks" or "descendants of cooks," for cooks wore the *vala* to knees or above. It was permissible, however, for a man to wear his *vala* very high to show his tattooing.

The combs of chiefs and commoners were distinctive. The commoner's comb (*helutuaniu*) was made of coconut "needles" (rib of the frond) fastened together with fine twine. The chiefs' comb (*helutoa*) was of hardwood (some of turtle shell) which was cut entirely through with fanciful patterns.

Many of the privileges which chiefs and matapules enjoyed were prohibited to commoners. The fresh-water dug wells were enjoyed as bathing places only by chiefs. Commoners might not play certain games, notably the billiard-like game called *lafo*. If caught playing this game they would be punished, perhaps even with death.

If a chief calls at a commoner's home, the commoner accompanies him on his return to his quarters. There he talks with him. In approaching or passing a chief, or when spoken to by a chief, a commoner would assume a stooped or bowed posture called *tulolo* or *punou*. If passing a chief, he would say *tulou* (please excuse my passing). If on horseback, he would dismount.

All pigeons (*lupe*) caught were taken to chiefs, and eaten only by them. If commoners ate pigeons they were punished by whipping or even death. Pigeon-snaring was perhaps the most popular of chiefly sports. A host of words refer to it. Many of them are used metaphorically of women, successful love-making being likened to successful pigeon-snaring.

The following are notes which were set down from the lips of a commoner (here called X) born in Vavau, and who was 58 years of age. They are of interest as giving his outlook upon social stratification. Doubtless the pride of higher connections exhibited in his remarks is typical of the attitude of many Tongan commoners.

The name which X bears is that assigned at birth and is expressive of courage. It also occurs in Tonga as the title of one of the Tui Tonga's navigators or fishermen. X's maternal grandfather fought at Pea for the Tui Kanokupolu George I, and was

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brought uncooked and is provided by the bride's people; the *vai*, also brought uncooked; and the *umu manavu*, which is cooked.

The second day of the marriage is the day of purification. The woman is bathed with candlenut as detergent and afterwards presides at her kava ring. Then her bundles of mats and native cloth are brought and disposed of as she desires. Then these games and dances are held: (1) *tafoe*, a game; (2) *lauumanga*, a game; (3) *meetuupaki*, a dance. The third and last day of the rejoicings comprised: (1) *lave*, reciting and singing of poetry; (2) dances: *laufola*, *meetuupaki*, and other dances; (3) and various games.

DEATH

Burial seems to have been the only method of disposing of the dead in Tonga. It seems possible that some embalmment was practiced in which interment of the corpse was deferred several years. Collocott has sent me a note gleaned from the journal of an early Methodist missionary, now in the keeping of the Mitchell Library, Sydney, which refers to the period from 1831 to 1837 and speaks of "a party celebrating *putu* (funeral) for a child who died seven years ago, but whose corpse was not interred until last week, which was the third and final mourning."

The body of a chief is anointed with scented oil, laid out in state, and fanned with a long-handled fly switch (*fue*) of coconut fiber. It was possibly in connection with embalming that the undertaker (*haatufunga*) removed the brains and apparently the intestines of the chiefly dead. Apparently, however, embalming was very rare in Tonga. The accounts of the burial of great personages such as the Tui Kanokupolu and the Tui Tonga given by Wilson (65) and Mariner (40) give no hint of embalming or preservation over long periods.

The undertakers of Tonga are of the matapule class and are appointed like other matapule, great chiefs having as attendants during life the men who will perform the funerary functions for them at death. The chief undertaker of modern Tonga is Lauaki, one of the two great matapule of the Tui Kanokupolu. The Lauaki who functioned at the funeral of King George II in 1918 was still living in 1921. He is chief of the Haa Tufunga or "Lineage of Undertakers." The first Lauaki (Maliepo) is reputed to have been the paternal half brother of the first Tui Tonga, Ahoeitu, and to have descended from the sky with him. Apparently the funeral duties of Lauaki are a development following his transfer from the Tui Tonga's court to the courts of the Tui Haa Takalaua and Tui Kanokupolu. Lauaki seems to have had no mortuary duties for the Tui Tonga, for whom this service was rendered by the Tui Folaha.

Funeral matters were regarded as of great importance. In the court of the Tui Tonga a considerable number of matapule of the Falefa (p. 66) had special funerary duties to perform upon the death of the Tui Tonga.

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[1834]

Taufaahau arrived in Nomuka a vessel from Lifuka was there with a message for Taufaahau and Havili to prepare, for Lifuka was ready to fight Taufaahau. 173 797

Taufaahau then asked Havili and Taifonoifua to get ready and go with him to Lifuka. "When you're ready, we'll start," he said. While Taufaahau had been fighting in Tonga, the Lifuka people had been digging trenches, preparing for his return. Velata was the place where the trenches were dug. Taufaahau and his troops sailed north from Nomuka. Three vessels went with troops. Taufaahau, Havili, and Taifonoifua with troops were in one vessel. 798 669 726

Troops only were in the other vessels. When Lifuka was sighted Havili sang out, "Sail the boats right up to the beach." Taufaahau was down below. Havili stood at the bow and yelled out to Taufaahau, asking for orders. Taufaahau was very quiet. Then Havili yelled again, "My wish is not to let any cockroach live, to kill them all." Shortly the vessel went right up on the beach. Havili jumped on to the beach, while Taufaahau was standing in the middle of the vessel looking towards Josiah Lausii's place, the chief of Haapai, his father's brother (*tamai*). He saw many people sitting down with heads bowed. They were asking Lausii to forgive them for what they had prepared. Then Taufaahau saw Lausii walking towards the ship. He came down and shook hands [*sic*]. Lausii told Taufaahau what the trouble was with the people bending over at his place. Lausii also asked Taufaahau to forgive him. Taufaahau told Lausii that Havili and Taifonoifua were determined to kill all the "cockroaches." Taufaahau said, "All right, I'll forgive them, but not again." Then Taufaahau told the Lifuka people that the fortress of Velata was to belong to the Nomuka people.

Shortly after they went to Vavau to accompany the Vavau men home. When they returned to Nomuka they found there had been some fighters from Mua, Tonga, who had slaughtered the people, women and children, and left the same day.

Havili was very much hurt when he discovered what had happened. He said to Taufaahau, "I'm going to Tonga to pay them back for what they have done. I won't go just now. I'll wait until the wind goes around to the south, so they won't be looking for me." When the wind swung to the south he started off. He arrived at night with Taifonoifua. They went ashore with troops. The people of Lapaha in Mua did not expect him. They were having a game of *lafo* (played with coconut shells). In the middle of the house was a woman making kava. Havili and Taifonoifua were pleased to have arrived there in time to slaughter them. Havili had connection with that woman. Havili and Taifonoifua had told their men to stop outside. The two went in quietly and sat down amongst the men. No notice was taken of them for they thought that they were Lapaha men. The woman making kava turned around and looked at Havili. As soon as she saw his face she yelled, "We are going to be slaughtered. Havili and Taifonoifua are here." The people received a shock and looked around, but it was too late. As soon as Havili realized he was known, he and Taifonoifua were punching them down with their fists as fast as they could. There were thirty men and one woman. They killed all but one man who was wounded. Those who went out were killed by the troops. The woman was spared. Soon after, that same night, Havili and Taifonoifua sailed for Nomuka with a fair wind. They arrived safely. [524]

Two days later they left again for Tonga to attack the Mua people again. When they sighted Tonga it was getting dark. It was about eight o'clock when they approached the land sufficiently to see lights. They could see several lights on the eastern end of Velitoa. Four men and four women were fishing. They were Mua people torch-fishing. The Nomuka vessel anchored outside the reef. Havili said to Taifonoifua, "You stay aboard, while I go to learn who these people are." He landed on the beach and walked up to see who they were. He went quietly and hid beside a tree. The party were cooking fish now. [226]

While they were cooking fish one of the men said, "Hurry, get those fish cooked or else Havili might come and take them from us." At the same time Havili was

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

After spinning the coconut, Kautae cracked it and then sprinkled everyone with coconut water. This was to make the sickness leave Taufaahau. After the god had restored the boy to health, Kautae changed his name from Nginginiofolanga to Taufaahau.

Any chief sick a long while might be brought before Kautae, with such presents as roast pig and kava. The visitors sat very quietly while the god entered Kautae. The coming of the god was shown by Kautae's looking "like a fool." When the god entered Kautae he was seated. [The informant, the Kautae of 1921, had seen his father thus possessed.] Afterwards Kautae spun the coconut to determine if the person would live. Then kava was made for the god. The kava was drunk by the people, but sea water brought in a coconut vessel was given to the god through his representative Kautae. The kava was served in banana leaf cups, as was the salt water. These, together with the bowl and strainer were brought by Fakaotoota, the priest's attendant who was regularly appointed by Kautae. These were used anciently in place of coconut shells. Salt water did not make Kautae sick. The god was still in Kautae when he drank salt water. Kautae shook all over when the god was in him. The movement of the body was an up-and-down trembling, arms flexed and shaking, head bowed slightly, eyes staring.

The succession to the priestly office of Kautae seems to have been as follows: (5) the incumbent of 1921; (4) the incumbent's father; (3) the incumbent's father's father's brother's son; (2) the incumbent's father's father's brother; (1) the incumbent's father's father.

The present Kautae said that, when a new priest was appointed at the death of the old one, the god enters the new priest, even though the new priest was only an appointee of the chief or of the king. The present Kautae, who is a Christian, has never felt as though the god were going to enter him. His son, who will probably succeed to the title, is called Halafaiafenga.

There are two tales about an alleged tomb of the god Taufaitahi which lies beneath the sea. One version places this tomb between Vavau and Niuatoputapu. It is said that in looking through the waters from a boat one can see the white tomb (*faitcka*) and usually near it Taufaitahi himself in the form of a white shark. The other tale attributes the tomb to the bay of Mua in the lagoon of Tongatabu, and between the island of Moungatapu and the place called Nahafu. It cannot be seen from the surface of the water on account of the mud, but by diving the alleged grave can be seen, a stone surrounded by white sand; it is called Muliafanini. The god himself is said to have dubbed this submarine spot his grave.

A tale refers to the seizing of a man named Fatuimoana by the shark god Taufaitahi:

A number of people were going to the island of Motutapu, Tongatabu, one day to attend games of playing in the surf (*fanifo*). The shark seized Fatuimoana by the arm when he dived and dragged him beneath the water. The people could look down and see the victim being held by the great shark. The priest of the god was sent for and came in the boat. He dived down and brought the drowned Fatuimoana to the surface. The body of the victim was taken to the Hahake district in Tongatabu and the inferior relatives of Fatuimoana had their little fingers cut off and brought as offerings to Kautae who was begged to restore Fatuimoana to life, but all in vain.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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ties against the enemy. The bows and arrows which before that period had been in use among the people of Tonga were of a weaker kind, and fitted rather for sport than war,—for the purpose of shooting rats, birds, &c. From the fierce and warlike people of those islands,[A] however, they speedily learned to construct bows and arrows of a much more martial and formidable nature; and soon became acquainted with a better form of the spear, and a superior method of holding and throwing that missile weapon. They also imitated them by degrees in the practice of painting their faces, and the use of a peculiar dress in time of war, giving a fierce appearance, calculated to strike terror into the minds of their enemies. These martial improvements were in their progress at the time of Captain Cook's arrival, but not in general practice; for having few or no civil dissensions among themselves, the knowledge of these things was confined principally to certain young chiefs and their adherents, who had been at the Fiji islands. Captain Cook describes some evolutions practised by the natives as being forms of war, and indeed they have that appearance; but they are to be considered rather as games and dances, which the Tonga people had learnt from the island of Nuha. None of the oldest natives could give any account of their first dis-

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3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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purpose, the nut being placed on the ground, a relation of the sick person determines that, if the nut, when again at rest, points to such a quarter, the east for example, that the sick man will recover: he then prays aloud to the patron god of the family, that he will be pleased to direct the nut, so that it may indicate the truth: the nut being next spun, the result is attended to with confidence, at least with a full conviction that it will truly declare the intentions of the gods at the time. The other occasions in which the spinning of a cocoa-nut is used, is chiefly for amusement, and then no prayer is made, and no degree of credit is attached to the result. The women often spin a cocoa-nut to decide some dispute at a game.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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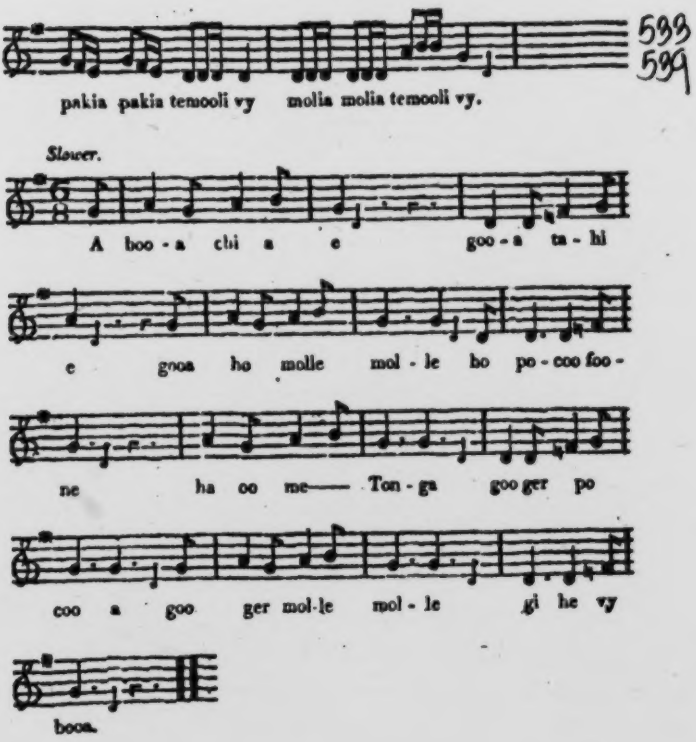
pakia pakia temooli vy molia molia temooli vy.
Slower.
A boo - a chi a e goo - a ta - hi
e gnoa ho molle mol - le ho po - coo foo -
ne ha oo me—— Ton - ga goo ger po
coo a goo ger mol-le mol - le gi he vy
boca.

The games and familiar pastimes in use among them are numerous, and we shall give a short account of each, according to the order in which they are generally esteemed.

Líagí: this is the first and most important of all Tonga games: it is one which every chief and mataboole is expected to be well acquainted with; and no others ever attempt to learn it. It is played either by two persons, or

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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524 four: for simplicity's sake, we will first suppose that two are playing: they sit opposite to each other, and make signs with the hands simultaneously: the one whose turn it is to count making one or other of three signs, i. e. by a sudden jerk of his arm, presening either his open hand, his closed hand, or the extended index finger, (the others and the thumb being clinched), his opponent at the same moment also makes a sign, and if it happens to be the same, it becomes his turn to play, and the first gains nothing; but if he succeeds in making one or other of these three signs, without his opponent making the same, five different times running, he throws down a little stick, of which he holds five in his left hand: it is now the other's turn to play, and he must endeavour to do the same; and whichever in this manner disposes of his five sticks first, wins the game: but if his antagonist imitates him before he can make five signs, we will suppose at the fourth, he has a right to demand what were the three other movements on each side; and if his opponent cannot mention them in the order in which they happened, and give a feigned reason for every individual motion on both sides, in the technical language of the game, according to a certain invariable system laid down, he may begin his count again: giving these sup-

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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posed or artificial reasons for each move is the most difficult part of the game, because it will vary according to the order of each of the moves that preceded it. When four play, they sit as in our game of whist, but each is the antagonist of the one opposite to him; and when one has got out his five sticks, he assists his partner by taking one or two of his sticks, and continuing to play. The rapidity with which these motions are made is almost incredible, and no inexperienced eye can catch one of them: the eagerness with which they play, the enthusiasm which they work themselves into, the readiness with which those that are clever give the requisite explanation to every combination of signs, always appear very extraordinary to a stranger.

Fanna Kalai: for a description of this sport, see Vol. I. p. 234.

Fanna Gooma, or rat-shooting: for a description of this sport, see Vol. I. p. 267.

Jia Loobe, catching pigeons with a net. This is not a very usual sport at present, though formerly it used to be. The net used for the purpose is small, with a narrow opening, affixed to the end of a rod of about twelve feet in length: the sportsman who holds it is concealed in a small cabin about five feet high, nearly in form of a bee-hive, in which there is a perpendicular

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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526 They have a sport the name of which is forgotten; but it consists in carrying a large stone under water ten feet deep, from one post to another, at the distance of seventy yards, the party who carries the stone running along the bottom: the difficulty is to pursue a straight course: a person may thus run much faster than another can swim.

[565] *Matooa:* this game is somewhat similar to *liagi*, but there is no discussion about the moves: it is usually practised by the lower orders.

Hico, throwing up balls, five in number, discharging them from the left hand, catching them in the right, and transferring them to the left again, and so on in constant succession, keeping always four balls in the air at once. [562] This is usually practised by women: they recite verses at the same time, each jaculation from the right to the left hand being coincident with the cadence of the verse: for every verse that she finishes without missing she counts one: sometimes seven or eight play alternately.

[562] *Hábo:* this is a game similar to cup and ball, and is also practised by women only.

[578] [524] The natives very often amuse themselves with these games: when any dispute arises in their play, the women decide it by spinning a cocoa-nut, and the men by a wrestling-match: as to a serious quarrel from this source, Mr.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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Mariner never witnessed one during the whole time he was there. Conversation with people who have travelled is another great source of amusement to them: they are very fond of tales and anecdotes, and there are many individuals who are tolerably skilful in inventing these things, which are then mostly of a burlesque or humourous tendency, but always given as fables. The kind of conversation, which appears to afford them most pleasure is, concerning the manners and customs of the people of Papalangi, as being not only strange and wonderful, but also true! They employ themselves in conversation, not only at any time during the day, but also at night: if one wakes, and is not disposed to go to sleep again, he wakens his neighbour to have some talk *: by and by, perhaps, they are all roused, and join in the conversation: it sometimes happens that the chief has ordered his cooks, in the evening, to bake a pig, or some fish, and bring it in hot in the middle of the night, with some yams: in this case the torches are again lighted, and they all get up to eat their share; after which they retire to their mats; the torches are put out; some go to sleep, and others, perhaps, talk till day-light. The first appearance of day is the

* Sometimes two or three, at other times thirty or forty, may be sleeping in the same house.

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539 For 'tis a land of women's talk.
Ah indeed, I am grieved in secret;
644 Take thought what we shall do,
We are weary of fear,
276 Rejoicing in the king we have got;
687 I am but punished.
Pluck down Alotolu,"
And Toloa and Humu.
Awake wind from Tufuhu,"
Breathe gently all winds,
Sing wind of the north,
The south wind, and wind below Kalau,"
And gleam the town that thunders for war;"
The sea moans on Teuhie and Kaloafu."
The Kailakulaku has put out"
That they may shatter regiments,
That without rival he be king,
And that we live under his justice."
Io ahi a, but he is good,"
A chief of exceeding kindness;
His dear beauty and brightness"
In the cave, the hollow in Tukitou.
False reliance is voyaging [with him],
And the correctness of a maimed hand."
Let none speak to me,
Forbidden the murmur, taken to Toku."
My love to the King,
Let be, farewell Tongatabu.
A-he, voyaging [together] will be broken down."

RHYMES FOR GAMES

Hiko

524 A favorite game of the Tongan girls (*hiko*), consists in juggling oranges. The girls become remarkably expert, and it is no uncommon thing to see five or six oranges kept in the air. The players sit in a little ring, and [538] as one breaks down she passes the oranges on to her neighbor. The games are scored by means of these rhymes, and doubtless others, which are almost as unintelligible to the Tongan as the *eeny, deeny, diny, do* of English chil- [539] dren is to them. Interesting words, however, are preserved, for example, Savaiki in the eighth line of the first rhyme.

524 The game *hiko* was under the special patronage of the god Fehuluni, of 776 whose origin Gifford gives an account (22, pp. 153-155). It was tapu to [784] play *hiko* at night. If the tapu were disregarded Fehuluni would be angry, and come and take the offender's eyes, and play *hiko* with them. Fehuluni 776 is said to have visited mortal men and women, in the guise of a beautiful 787 woman or of a handsome man. Men who embraced Fehuluni in female shape became sick, and some died; while women who became pregnant to [755] the male Fehuluni were unable to bring forth. Sometimes, but not always, remedies were of avail, inducing a bleeding which was followed by restored health. Fehuluni is said also to have appeared with the face veiled by the top of the head, which seems inconsistent with the beauty attributed to him, 539 though it is admitted that his appearance was not always beautiful. Each 524 of these rhymes marks an *ulu* (game). To go right through the piece marks one *ulu*. The players agree beforehand how many *ulu* there are to be in the match. If, as between two players, one breaks down at some point within the *ulu*, and then her opponent also breaks down; the first player is allowed to continue at the point at which she erred, and if she completes the *ulu* her opponent must start at the beginning, and is beaten unless she goes right through at this second attempt.

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I

Fuofua peau moua,	Count and I am a-troubled,
Pea to he ana ua;	And fall in the double cave;
Faifai peau fepaki,	Go on and I collide,
Peau to he fihi vai	And fall in the tangled water
Ko Paikoulu.	*Pai-ko-ulu.*
He ateniti, he atenata,	*He ateniti, he atenata,*
Uanga pea lamokoki,	Worm and *lamokoki.*
Fo'i koli, Savaiki, Ato-tofe,	Fruit of *koli*, Savaiki, Atotofe,[1]
Lepu-punu, Kili-lenga, Aku-menga,	Lepupunu, Kililenga, Akumenga,
Mana-tuki, Manavanga, Foha-ulu,	Manatuki, Manavanga, Fohaulu,
Fetakinanga, Ato-fano, Unga,	*Fetakinanga* (going arm in arm) Atofano, Unga,
A-pulotu, Hekitoto 'oe la'a,	A-Pulotu (Fence of Pulotu), Hekitotooelaa,
Ko 'Alu 'a Toka,	The going of Toka (or name, Alu a Toka)
Kevanopi nganangana,	Impudent Kevanopi,
Tatinima, Malu-kapusi, Napa-haka,	Tatinima, Malukapusi, Napahaka,
Oi oi, maanaana fololonga,	*Oi oi maanaana fololonga,*
Foto-tai, Pili 'o ha vai, mama 'e hai?	Fototai (sting of the sea) Lizard of water, who is lightening?
Numi 'e hai? Sakietala ko Tapenai;	Who is folding (puckering, creasing)? Sakietala *ko* Tapenai;
Io tulou, io feai, io komana, tafu afi,	Yes *tulou* (excuse me), yes *feai*, yes *komana*, light the fire,
Tapa ta'ane, matangi kahula, angaivalu,	*Tapa taane* (reserves of men), *matangi kahula* (swelling, dancing wind), *angaivalu*,
Tangi hoa atu, tangi hoa ate, lele-kofia,	Crying forth for companion, crying for live companion, running scolding,
Mahunu-tae, Pili-ko-vai, manu-lele.	Burning scraps, lizard the water, running bird.

II

Fenu he si, melu ngatu,	*Fenu he si, melu ngatu,*
Poloa kano'i la,	Betrothed body of sail (eye of sun, reading *kanoilaa*),
Ko Tutoe hono va'e,	*Tutoi* its foot,
He tafi ala kauake,	In flowing *ala kauake*,
Pulepulea ana tete,	Spotted Anatete (trembling cavern),
Taha Moli-pala,	One Molipala,
Ua kia Unga,	Two to Unga,
Tolu Tu'i-pulotu,	Three Tuipulotu,
Fa Lango-pa,	Four Langopa,
Nima Tausinga,	Five Tausinga,
Ono Hala-holo,	Six Halaholo,
Fitu kia Sipu,	Seven to Sipu,
Valu kia Manu,	Eight to Manu,
Hiva Naivolita,	Nine to Naivolita,
'Ulu Kai-tu'u, Tapalea mo Fita-puku,	Ten Kaituu, Tapalea and Fitapuku,
Hopo hake Alipate	Jump up Alipate, (Albert, a high chief in Nukualofa)
Pea mo Ngahe,	And Ngahe,
Nofo kia Siale,	Stay with [at] Siale,

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539 Kau 'alu ki Vava'u,
Kia Unga-tangi-tau
524 Mo siene fanau;
Kuo 'i Fisi Semisi,
Kuo 'i Tonga Loloa,
Palea ho vaka ki Ha'amoa;
Faka-osi hala mei Tefisi,
Naipoli mo Poliki,
Tukilaki Mataliki,
Laka hiki, laku taha,
Ua, tolu, fa,
He tefunini maka-lele,
Taha nofo vai-te-lele,
Ua nofo vai-te-lele,
Tolu nofo vai-te-lele,
Fa nofo vai-te-lele,
Nima nofo vai-te-lele,
Ono nofo vai-te-lele,
Fitu nofo vai-te-lele,
Valu nofo vai-te-lele,
Hiva nofo vai-te-lele,
Ulu nofo vai-te-lele.

I shall go to Vavau
To Unga-desiring-war
And his dear family;
James is in Fiji,
Loloa is in Tonga,
Thy boat is paddled to Samoa.
Finish the road from Tefisi,
Naipoli and Poliki,
Pleiades in collision,
Step removing, throw one
Two, three, four,
He tefunini running rock,
One, stay *vaitelele* (water the running),
Two, stay *vaitelele*,
Three, stay *vaitelele*,
and so on up to *ulu* 9, 10, game) *vaitelele*.[3]

Makamiki

The game of *makamiki* consists in guessing in which hand one of the players holds a small piece, called the *matakai*. The player who has the piece put his hand behind his back, so that his opponent, or opponents, may not see in which hand he holds it, and then puts his hands in front for the others to guess in which hand it is. The guesser flips his fingers in front of the closed fists, flipping before one fist and then the other, and the hand before which he ceases his flipping is the one in which he reckons the *matakai* to be held. If he guesses correctly he takes the *matakai*, and his opponent guesses. I do not know the principle on which the flipping is done, whether or not the flipper repeats words to himself as he flips. A way [252] of telling whether or not food in an oven is cooked—opening the earth oven to see is a more serious affair than opening the door of a European oven—is to go down the index finger of one hand with the thumb and index finger of the other, saying *moho, ota, moho, ota,* (cooked, uncooked, cooked, uncooked) and the word in which the bottom of the finger is reached indicates the state of the food in the oven. A little stick, a midrib of the coconut leaflet, may be used instead of the finger.

As the man who holds the *matakai* in *makamiki* shuffles it behind his back he repeats this rhyme:

Makamiki, makapoto,
Silapapi, tongotongo,
'Ai e tuki, 'ai e mono,
Na'a hoko mai telinga fetoho,
Fei mo matemate ke poto.

Makamiki, clever stone,
Silapapi, mangrove,
Make a blow, make repair,
Lest there be ears long-pulled,
Do your best to be clever.

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Stick and Knife

A player held a stick in one hand and struck it with a knife, repeating a rhyme. If he timed his strokes correctly he struck 15 times during the recital of the words.

Toki mo toki fekau mai e motu'a toki
Ke ta e toki ta ke fiha, ta ke hongofulu ma nima kauka.

Hatchet and hatchet send here *e*, ancient hatchet,
To strike *e*, then strike how many?
Strike to ten times and five, *kauka*.

From these words it would seem that, before the advent of steel knives, a stone hatchet was used in striking the stick.

POEMS RELATING TO PLACES

A very large class of poems celebrates the scenic beauties and interesting localities of Tonga. Gifford who has published a number of such compositions (21, pp. 5-19; 22, pp. 91-95), says, "the feeling for the beauties of nature is one of the marked cultural characteristics of the Tongan people."

Following are several more examples of this class of composition; but it is a class to which additions are being made constantly. Although special interest attaches to many of the pieces of the older bards, the native muse is as vigorous as ever. Localities and events are being constantly celebrated. Towards the end of 1911 I met a remarkable old blind bard in the tiny island of Fonoifua, Haapai, whose population numbers only about 35 souls. He took his band of singers into the little native built church, dimly lit by hurricane lanterns, and led them in the singing of his own compositions, pieces of haunting sweetness. Later in a dwelling, they sang a poem celebrating a concrete cistern that had been built on the top of the little hill in the center of the island. This cistern doubly deserved the honor of poetic celebration in that it was the first of its kind in that part of Tonga, and boasted the added glory of a pipe which brought the water from the cistern to the village. I do not know the old blind bard's name, nor have I any of his pieces, but would pay him this small tribute of recognition, for his airs are among the sweetest that I heard in the islands.

The Environs of Nukualofa[1]

Wind from the back of Koloa,[2]
Beat upon the anchorage of canoes;
Come let us praise Nukualofa,
Let us go up at Tongataeapa,[3]
And ask in the homes of the chiefs
Where perchance is Onemalama?[4]
There stood a hala alone
On the mound Puamofefinea,
Near the pool Finenaakakala,
Where creeps the *ngingie* of the shore.[5]
The wild duck cry
Put to flight by the noise of the kava.
Come, let us leave Veitata,[6]
We shall go up at Tukungatokelau,[7]
Faletuuloto and Vakahahau,
And the pool of the fish that was buried.

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19. Kanakana is a pool in Teekiu, western Tongatabu, where dwelt the god Tutula, or Haelefeke, who appeared in the octopus (*feke*). Besides the advice to Falepapalangi to go and find a pool and the trees as subjects of his verse, there seems to be the idea also of finding a god to be the patron of his muse.

20. For *ai* (almond tree), *vai* (water, pool) may be read as a variant, and instead of *ua* (two), *na* (there). Without knowing just what is referred to there is no way of choosing definitely between the various possible readings. The man may be represented as speaking to someone in Hihifo "who knows," and asking "Where is that almond tree, or pool that you people talk about?" or as asking "Where is the double almond tree, or double pool?" Two pools, or two trees, close together, would make a sufficiently conspicuous land-mark to be noted, and *ua* is probably the correct reading.

Pages 67-69. A poem of Falepapalangi

1. A chief sometimes gives his kava to someone of lower rank than himself, usually as a reward for services rendered. This bestows on the man to whom the kava is given the right to clap and have the cup brought to him when the chief's name is called. This privilege is transmitted from generation to generation. The hypothetical charge which Falepapalangi is considering is that of having brought to him in the kava ring a cup which has not been so given to him, a much more serious usurpation than merely draining off a cup of someone's else drink.

2. Falepapalangi seems to claim having borne off the prize, probably against Mamaeaepoto on some specific occasion when the King was present. There is a possibility, however, that he refers to his poetical skill as a heaven-sent gift of the gods; Tangaloa is the lord of the heavens. It is in keeping with the spirit of Tongan poetry to consider all the possible meanings and allusions as more or less involved.

3. Kafoa and Talau are hills in Vavau. That the hills had fallen means that Vavau, in the person of Mamaeaepoto, had been defeated in poetical contest, and, as a Tongatabu man, Falepapalangi turns the tables on Mamaeaepoto's assertion that the Tongatabu poet has neglected the beauties of his own land to abuse the poet of Vavau. Falepapalangi contends that he, the Tongatabu poet, has not been unmindful of the claims of Vavau to commemoration; that his rival has mentioned to him places in Tongatabu that might be visited for poetical inspiration, and in his retort infers that he knows and is quite willing to celebrate Mamaeaepoto's land.

4. Meaning "We were in complete accord about the charms of Vavau."

5. The king, the Tui Kanokupolu, and those connected with him, are called *hoa moheofo*. Moheofo is the daughter of the Tui Kanokupolu, who was taken as the principal wife of the Tui Tonga. *Mohe* in *moheofo* is not the same root as *mohe*, sleep (compare with *moheofo*, the Samoan *masiofo*).

6. Pangai is the court of the Tui Kanokupulu, or the place where this king holds his court and great gatherings.

7. The word *liku-loto* is used of an inland place that is precipitous and has the appearance of the cliffs of the weather coast. It is proverbial for that which is not what it seems.

8. The term *faka-vavau* (Vavau fashion) is proverbial for talk that is boastful.

9. "Hiding and squeaking" is used of that which hides, but reveals its presence by noise. Here, apparently, it means lying low and uttering plaints hard to understand.

10. This metaphor is from the game of *lafo*. The raised edge of the mat on which the pieces are thrown is called *kaunahu*; players were able to make good use of this, as a billiard player makes use of the cushion. *Futa kaunahu* (pride in the raised edge) is pride over a successful shot due to the mat rather than to the player's ability. Hence it indicates boasting of what is due to extraneous circumstances rather than to skill. Evidently Falepapalangi refers to an occasion on which Mamaeaepoto has defeated him. Possibly the themes of the poets on that occasion were their native lands, and Falepapalangi means that Mamaeaepoto's victory was due to the scenic superiority of Vavau to Tongatabu rather than to the poet's skill.

11. Perhaps a living dog, or perhaps merely a way of saying that the matter be left to one who is good at following up clues. A dog was prominently associated with the worship of the god Pulotukatoa in eastern Tongatabu.

12. The theft is Mamaeaepoto's claim to seamanship.

13. That is, the place where people sit and talk on deck, as distinguished from the working part of the ship. Falepapalangi says that Mamaeaepoto wants to leave the

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deck of the smaller canoe, where he really belongs, and where his talent in song and verse is useful, to spring to the steer-oar. "That we may be equal" seems to be an equalizing of Mamaeaepoto with men in general for, though it would not seem that Falepapalangi claimed much skill in a canoe, still he had normal hands and Mamaeaepoto had not. The oars were in pairs, and the sense may be more exclusively the figurative one of claiming equality with Falepapalangi, who represents himself and Mamaeaepoto as a pair of rowers or steersmen, working in successful partnership at their task of providing entertainment. [539]

14. Falepapalangi returns to the claim of seamanship with another gibe at Mamaeaepoto's hands. The *kuasi* was a short pole, lashed outboard from the outrigger canoe, on which, in rough weather, a man stood, moving along it to keep the boat's balance; from here he also gave sailing directions. Obviously it was not the place for a man who was not physically perfect. Furthermore, if he needed anything, for instance food, it was simply thrown to him. Hence the gibe. [501] [502]

15. The word *ama* is the name of the smaller of the two canoes in a double canoe, where the passengers and those not on duty sit, and pass the time in conversation and singing; *mata'u* is the name of the larger of the two canoes where the work is done. Hence *lau-ama*, sing, *lau-mata'u*, work. [502]

16. "Stand in the song," that is, dance; a more literal translation would be "sing standing." The hands are clapped in much of the dancing. [535]

Pages 69-70. A dance song of Falepapalangi

1. The phrase *toi ke lilo* is from the game of hide-and-seek. The poet advises the rival to keep out of sight, but if he is unwilling to be hidden at any rate not to attempt to equalize himself with men who can really do things. [524]

2. The word *lupe* means pigeon, and has reference to the sitting on the deck of the canoe chatting and singing. The pictures of sea life throughout the piece are to be taken literally, and with metaphorical application to skill in poetry.

3. The decking in the forward part of canoe, where men fit for difficult work were stationed, was termed *faka-lakepa*. In rough weather men sometimes lay there, forming a living bulwark to prevent the boat from being swamped. [501] [502]

4. I have not been able to ascertain the meaning of the word *takotofa*, but from the context it seems to be a part of the boat for passengers and men not on duty.

5. The metaphor changes to that of a sea-bird seeking food. The rival is the bird, wearied with a long and fruitless flight, "I will get in ahead of him by a short cut, by another road."

6. The pigeon-snaring mounds, which were such a favorite theme of poetry. [538]

7. Possibly refers to a victory of the bard at Matahina, a reef in Vavau, a famous shark-fishing ground. If Mamaeaepoto is the rival all the more point is given to Falepapalangi's claim of victory over him in respect of localities in Vavau.

8. The lines beginning "In the land, thou saidst, I delight" have some reference to actual seamanship, yet the main current of meaning concerns poetry. When it looked as though Tonga would be beaten in the contests of bards, Falepapalangi was able to steer her to victory.

Pages 70-71. A poem of Mamaeaepoto

1. Fifita and Ulialangatau are probably *matapule* of Ulukalala. 539

2. That you would honor me. 484

3. His skill in verse is the reason that the poet was to hold himself in readiness to sail. 505

4. The remark is addressed to the assemblage to whom he actually recited the poem. 837

5. Two currents of thought are expressed; one complimentary, the other not. Women are not regarded as useful members of the crew in working the boat, but are appreciated for their assistance in minor matters that make for the comfort of voyaging, and especially for the brightness they give by their presence and conversation and song. [562]

6. "We shall fashion a wonder boat, whose different parts are the localities named; our boat shall be a song celebrating all these places." Since different localities are accustomed to cooperate in large tasks, this carries the sense of a grandiloquent call by the disappointed man to all these places—islands, hills, and beaches.

7. Moahengi is apparently the name of a man in Uiha, an island of Haapai.

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8. Two copies of the text read *Pea mou o ne, o folaue;* I know no meaning for *ne* in this position, and a very intelligent Tongan emended it to *pe*.

9. It is not clear whether pray (*lotu*) is used in the Christian sense, or whether some supplication to heathen deities is meant. Mamaeaepoto lived into the Christian period.

10. Here is a sting. Ostensibly the meaning is that when affairs are all settled in the country and it is easy for all the leading men to go away on an excursion of pleasure, then "we shall go away with you on a trip." Secondarily, there is the sense that "we shall pick nice calm weather for a chap like you, who is not much of a man." Mamaeaepoto retorts that the day was a good sailing day, and secondarily, that there were not difficulties anywhere in the country that necessitated his staying.

11. Although these lines have been taken as the pretext and consolatory remarks made to Mamaeaepoto when he was left behind, it is quite possible to understand them as perfectly sincere remarks addressed by Mamaeaepoto to his companions in misfortune.

12. The word *fasi* (song, tune), stands in the margin of my copy of the poem in several places, apparently a direction for the performance of the piece. It stands opposite the lines which have *e* at the end. It is difficult to say what, precisely, is intended. Perhaps the bard recited the greater part of the poem, and a chorus joined in on the lines indicated.

13. Fusi is probably the name of a man; Fusi-momoho is the name of a boat.

14. Drums were carried on canoes, and beaten as they left, or drew near to, land, and also at other times to cheer and encourage the crews.

Pages 71-72. A poem of Falepapalangi

1. Two copies of the text have been used, and the text presented here is a little longer than either.

2. The "new boat" is a poem, or a festival, performed in Hahake, the great seat of chiefly residence. It seems that Falepapalangi was defeated, or criticised, by his rival; he replies that his composition, whose theme was the Pale, a headland in Vavau, was composed hurriedly, without much time for polishing, as the bard tossed it off in the fervor of inspiration, using the breeze of inspiration while it was blowing.

3. *Telae* is a little fish that springs along on the rocks, making its way back to the sea when disturbed. The *siale* is a weak and unaggressive shrub, whose blooms fade soon after they are picked. The tropic bird cannot rise when fallen.

4. "A strife of strong fish" is proverbial for a contest of those who are strong and well-matched (17, No. 211).

5. The eminence to which the rival has attained by his victory is likened to his going up and surveying the scene from the headland of Tave in Eua.

6. This reminder that modesty is becoming may be a literal statement that the rival is not skillful at sea, as well as the figurative assertion that in the craft of the bard he has not all the gifts.

8. *Uhiuhi* is the name of a plant.

9. A very bold and effective metaphor. "Possessed" is used in the sense of demonic possession, sick.

10. Veuki is the name of Falepapalangi's compound.

11. Literally, "Wearier, wearer out, of day and night." Instead of "contest," some word such as "song" might be supplied. It is possible that he refers to some scornful question in the rival's poem as to who this Falepapalangi is.

12. In Tongan speech, especially in ceremonial speech in the presence of chiefs, it is very common to guard oneself when about to mention something that perhaps it is not polite to speak about.

13. This metaphor relates to the game of *lafo*. The position supposed is that his opponent's last throw is in scoring position, nearest to the edge of the *lafo*, also near the mat. This is the poem which has been successful. Falepapalangi has a piece of his own standing just near this. Falepapalangi is now throwing his last piece, the present poem. He will not try the shot that drives straight through, knocking the opponent's scoring piece off the mat; that would disturb his own piece, but, by taking advantage of the raised edge, or cushion, of the mat, he will come around and knock his opponent's piece off and score with two pieces of his own.

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11. By *ma* (we) Tukulua indicates himself and one other, possibly a sweetheart. It is possible that in this regretful farewell to the happy activities of living men and women, he is thinking more particularly, though not exclusively, of the charms of women's company. *Tuula* (perch for birds) would seem more likely to be applied to women than to men; women are frequently called *lupe* (pigeon). For a possible reference underlying *tata anga lei* (place of carving ivory), see *lei mangamanga* (p. 130).

12. By "games" (*tolo*) is meant the sport of dart-throwing, but possibly there is a covert allusion to love.

13. The form of the phrase *tuna 'ae fuifui puleoto* (man, lad) of cluster of *puleoto* recalls the Hebrew "son of oil." The *puleoto* is a shell used for the necklaces of chiefs and is a valued ornament of chiefly virgins. To wear this shell is a mark of virginity, for if a girl who is not a virgin wears one suspended from her neck the shell will not lie properly upon her bosom, but will turn over.

14. The *motelolo* is a tree.

15. There are two musical directions in my manuscript copy. The word *fasi* apparently marks a part where those who sing the air come in, or perhaps sing alone, and the word *lautoka* is perhaps a direction to the base or seconds. The refrains that recur throughout the piece were probably sung by the full chorus.

Page 79. On the death of the Tui Tonga

1. Langiehetupua is the name of Tui Tonga's burial vault.

2. The number of pigeons flying about in all the islands (*otu fonua*) was an omen of the King's death.

3. In the original Tongan text *mata 'o peka* is written as three words and would thus mean face (front) of *peka* (flying-fox), but the probability is that it should be taken here as a geographical name. It is possible that the phrase may mean the faces, appearance of the people of Peka (21). Veituna also appears to be a geographical name. Where these places are, or why they are mentioned, is not known.

4. Malamaisaua (indistinctly written, and possibly Malamaisana, but Malamaisaua suits the rhyme and is in all likelihood correct) is probably a place name, perhaps the name of the late Tui Tonga's compound; but it may be one of the names of the King himself.

5. *'Otua* means god, spirit. This direct ascription of deity to the king descended from the Lords of Heaven may perhaps be made easier by the fact that he is dead and has returned (or is about to return?) to the land of immortals, but it seems preferable to regard it as a statement of what the Tui Tonga, the Sacred King, actually was in his status as a king, both king of mortals and a god, probably pre-eminently the god so far as men were concerned.

6. Screen (*tatau*). A screen (*kolo*) is sometimes put around the bodies of chiefs during the burial ceremony in the cemetery and, for the very great chiefs, also in the house in which the body lay before being taken to the cemetery. Inside this screen only the *haa tufunga* (compare Maori *tohunga* and cognates in other dialects), members of the family group to whom belonged funerary arrangements, were allowed to enter.

7. Alaivahamamao, probably a *matapule* of the dead king.

8. "Midrib of the coconut leaflet" signifies the dead king. He is so called because flowers and leaves are strung on the midrib, and the name signifies him who was the center of festival for which garlands and necklaces were prepared; him to whom most of all were brought objects of pleasure and delight.

9. Manono and Fualu are names of localities in Tonga. It is possible that Manono is indicated. The statement has been made in Tonga that there is tradition that the pigeon came from Samoa to Tonga. Perhaps the most likely interpretation is that the pigeon of Manono and Fualu is the dead King, though it is possible that this is the beginning of an address to the women of Manono and Fualu, calling on them to mourn. The loss of the next five lines makes it impossible to decide.

10. At the end of the mutilated line is *eva'lu*, translated "eight," but of course there is nothing to show that the syllables are not, for example, the end of a name.

11. The use of the word *afio* (reign) does not mean that the king will be king of Pulotu, for Hikuleo is ruler there; but the word *afio* is used of the Tui Tonga and has a wide range of application. It is the word used of the king's being, presence, in any place. The lines mean little more than that he will be in Pulotu, Pulotutuumau (Pulotu stand fast). If Watkin (38) is correct in thinking that the Tongans divided

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8. The incident of the land-fishing of the Maui is introduced to lead up to the work of Loau, and also as an instance of where even gods did not disdain work of just the kind that Ulamoleka himself is doing.

9. Loau (12, pp. 177, 178; 22, pp. 71-75) is remembered as the one who divided the land among the various chiefs, and left ordinances about the kava, and kindred matters.

10. Poukula is in Hihifo in Tongatabu. It is said that an axe was left there by Captain Cook. To be like an old axe is proverbial for what is worn out and inefficient.

11. To be understood as relating literally to Ulamoleka's skill as a fisherman, and figuratively, to his successes among the ladies.

12. The Hifofua was the canoe of the Tui Kanokupolu. Her crew were all picked men; quite possibly chosen literally in the manner indicated, by skill and strength in dart-throwing. Ulamoleka is the captain of this fine body of men—and yet this girl has the assurance to regard him as too old for her. Again, later in the poem, is a reference to another allegation against him, namely, that he was without accomplishments. A man to be a member of the King's crew must have had in no mean degree at least one valued accomplishment of athletic youth, namely, dart-throwing.

13. This address is made probably to the girl by Ulamoleka telling her to trust for his merits to the favors he has received from women in many places. Places are mentioned where he has had sweethearts, some of which at least are the abodes of great chiefly families.

14. The land side of the road and the lower (sea) side, are very important divisions in Tongan society. The land side is the Tui Tonga, his chiefs and people immediately connected with them; the lower side is all else (12, p. 177). Lapaha (compare Fijian Lambasa) is the village near to the compound of the Tui Tonga. Ohomafua is a site not now identifiable, presumably the site of a compound near Lapaha where the Tui Haatakalaua or the Tui Kanokupolu lived. Pangai, a widespread and important name, was applied to residences of the Tui Kanokupolu. Gifford notes a compound of this name which was a residence of the Tui Kanokupolu near Tatakamotonga part, of the modern village of Mua, near Lapaha. Ahau (compare Samoan Asau), also a widespread and important name, is apparently especially associated with the Tui Kanokupolu. Gifford notes a compound of this name near Lapaha.

15. "As of a double mat was report" may refer to the preceding line, Pangai and Ahau, seats of greatness, famous as a famous double mat, but it seems better to take the line with the one following and refer it to the hapless maiden of Niua. Ulamoleka "heard a great deal about her, but it turns out that there is no bulk in this great mat."

16. Matamoanauta and Faatalamatatua are said to be in Hihifo, Tongatabu, though Matamoanauta is noted by Gifford as near Hamula, which is at the other extremity of Tongatabu. The girl is recommended to go to these places with the man whom she has preferred before Ulamoleka. He taunts this out-island girl, telling her to go to places where there is really something worth while, and where she will hear something about the man she has rejected.

17. Poulalahi; evidently a shrine, or sanctuary.

18. The line of mounds; the pigeon-snaring mounds in Hihifo. Ulamoleka was connected with the chiefs of Hihifo through his mother. On his father's side he was a descendant of Tongi Manaia, who belonged to the Tui Tonga families of eastern Tongatabu.

19. To be in Haapai but not in Tofua, the volcanic mountain island on the western fringe of the Haapai group, is a proverbial expression for an untravelled, or incompletely travelled man. The poem says the hundred hills of the crest of Tofua could tell why Ulamoleka has not been seen more in the games and festivals ashore; he has not become better known because his life has been spent in voyaging to all sorts of places.

20. One copy reads *Si'i anga 'oe 'au na luma* (dear manner of that reproach of thine), which gives good sense. The other copy, which I have followed, reads *Si'i anga 'oc aualuma*. The word *aualuma* is rare in Tongan and it probably is not Tongan, and Pratt gives the meaning for Samoan, "a company of single ladies," which fits the context admirably. Further, as a matter of criticism, the change from *aualuma*, a word strange to the majority of Tongans, to *'au na luma*, is more likely than that the change was made in the opposite direction.

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12. "My" (possibly "our") is not the composer personally, but the Hihifo party.

13. The details of the *lafo* metaphor are susceptible of more than one explanation. It may be that the troubles and difficulties of the time are not swept off the board by a throw which attempted to effect such a clearance. An excellent informant says that the picture is of two opposing pieces, both in good positions; the piece which is actually in the scoring position is struck off by its owner, in an attempt to strike off the opponent's piece. This might refer to a favorable position in the war being lost by some untoward incident. Such an incident, for example, as the death in battle of Mulikihaamea, shortly after the murder of Tukuaho.

14. The counsel is not to talk of peace, but to go right on through difficulty; the "will to victory."

15. "Disunion among chiefs who should be allies makes sailing difficult for the Hihifo bark of state." In the main the war was fought by Haapai and Vavau, led by Ulukalala Finau, against Tongatabu, especially Hihifo. Even before the assassination of Tukuaho, the two hulls had been loosened by the dissension between Tupou Moheofo, the chieftainess who was Tui Kanokupolu for a short time and her brother, Tukuaho, who drove her from her position. Tupou Moheofo appealed to Finau for assistance. Finau himself belonged to a younger branch of the Haa Ngata, against the chiefs of which he fought. Tupou Toa, who afterwards became Tui Kanokupolu, also acted with Finau.

16. The Tui Haakili is unidentified but is apparently some chief who might have been expected to support Hihifo, but did not. He rejoiced with Finau in the defeat of Hihifo, which had become desolate. Apart from the defeat of Hihifo at the Battle of Toafa, which was held to have been avenged by Vahai in the Battle of Chasing Fowls, the western district of Tongatabu was desolated for years by the raiding excursions of Finau.

17. There was an epidemic about this time that carried off a large number of people.

18. Ula was chief fisherman and sailor (*toutai*) of the Tui Kanokupolu.

19. This is suggested as a sarcastic reference to those who stayed at home, and did not join in the war, which would seem to be the case with Mataele, but I think the general sense is a recalling of the entourage of the Tui Kanokupolu, especially with the nuance of an implicit contrast of their inherent glory and the straits into which they fell. Longoiaipangi is the name taken by Vahai as self-inflicted reproach after the Battle of Toafa.

20. Kepa is another name of Falekaono, who kept faithfully by Tukuaho on the night of his assassination. Here, Heilalafuitahi (name of a plant) is a nickname of Tukuaho.

21. Sinae, the Tui Tonga chiefs; Atelevai, said to be the chiefs of Haa Havea.

22. The *matapule* of the Tui Tonga were called the Falefa. Falefa is sometimes explained as meaning Four Houses, and four names are mentioned as belonging to it; but it is quite possible that the meaning is the House of Hala as a complimentary naming by a tree valued for its perfume or as indicating far-spreading.

23. Evidently Hihifo.

24. The reference is to Haapai and Vavau, who come over the sea.

25. The *fekipaki* is a little marine creature, popularly called the bluebottle.

26. Totomai is explained as the name of a man or as meaning "creeping back defeated."

27. "The pig that drinks water" is Finau and his army. Finau used to retire to Haapai and Vavau after his battles in Tongatabu. He is called pig perhaps in reference to his having installed a pig as king of Tongatabu. "Drinks water," that is "comes and goes on the sea."

28. Perhaps the reference is to Haapai. It would not be true of Haapai, but would be merely a rather childish grimace at Finau. Perhaps the place meant is Hihifo, in sorrowful allusion to the depredations of war.

29. The word *aheia* is said to indicate a change of topic.

30. Red (*melo*) is rather, orange colored. It is not clear what is indicated. Probably the bard recalls to mind the ruddy or orange tinge of the sails in a certain light.

31. The exact meaning of this passage is not clear, but there seems to be a reference to a success of Hihifo, when the tide of war turned in his favor. Pelehake

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22. The plant *unuoi* is a favorite food of pigeons. Tuakilaumea presents himself as a pigeon eating *unuoi* unapprehensive of pending trouble when the news of his disgrace reached him; probably also an allusion is made to himself drinking the kava which was the cause of all the trouble.

23. The plant *pipitongi*, here used as a nickname of Tuakilaumea himself.

24. Moli hath done wrong, leave it to Loli, is a proverbial expression for laying the blame of one man's wrongs upon another.

25. This is a proverbial expression complaining that the unworthy reap the benefit of the labors and endurance of the strong and brave (17, no 92).

26. Afaipaongo (little fruit of hala) is a sarcastic name for the King. The *paongo* is a valued species of *Pandanus*, and the name is constructed on the model of the nicknames of great chiefs, which frequently are of some valued and pleasant plant. The *afa* of the hala, however is the last fruit, which is smaller than the earlier fruit; and the name, therefore, is a taunt, "poor little fruit coming after the great fruit which have preceded you."

27. Lolo was one of the handsome men whose profession was love. Tuakilaumea used the word *motua*, a common but not very respectful term for man.

28. Lotunofo; the compound of the Tui Tonga in Mua.

29. This is perhaps the request of Mumui to Tuakilaumea to live with him; but afterwards Mumui is relying on the chief Vahai of Lolopaongo a village of Foui, in western Tongatabu. But Vahai has deserted the interests of Hihifo and gone off to Hahake, where he originally belonged.

30. This is a sarcastic reference to Mumui. The direction is to "pluck the stars from heaven for this king of ours, and let all the forces of Nature be according to his pleasure." Alotolu is the belt in Orion; Toloa, the Southern Cross; Humu, dark sky near the Southern Cross (:6, pp. 4-6).

31. Tufuhu is a place name in Tonga, Haapai, and Vavau. Winds are named therefrom, as *funga Tufuhu* (from the surface of Tufuhu).

32. Kalau is an islet off the southern end of Eua. "Below Kalau" is used of the wind blowing from a point seaward from Kalau.

33. The reference is to some town where lightning was held to be an omen of war. "The town" is said to be Mumui's own town.

34. Teuhie and Kaloafu are two rocks off the coast of Hihifo. The murmur of the sea is said to be heard on these rocks in calm weather, hence the expression is used here of calm seas. In these lines, in addition to the sarcastic request that Nature be as Mumui would choose, is the poet's own brooding fondness for the natural features of his native land, which is so constant a feature of Tongan poetry.

35. The Kailakulaku is the boat of Ata, one of the great chiefs of the Tui Kanokupolu. The context implies "Let the canoe of this chief put out to shatter all opposition, that our King reign without a rival."

36. The line *Ke tau nonofo kuo tatau*, seems to have two ideas: first, that the king be equal to his job, and hence know how to treat his *matapule;* and, second that we be all alike under his rule, that is that his rule be marked by even-handed justice.

37. The phrase *Ia ahi a* is not very clear. The word for sandalwood *ahi*, may be a name for the King, in which case the line would follow the preceding one and mean "That we live in justice with Ahi." I have taken *Ia ahi a* as an expletive. The poet is again sarcastic at expense of Mumui.

38. There is in Vavau a cave, or depression, with sweet water in it called Tukitou. Bathing in this pool is said to make one beautiful.

39. "Correctness of a maimed hand" carries with it the implication that with all its correctness of movement in the dance the maimed hand can not achieve fullness of beauty and grace.

40. The exact interpretation is uncertain but it is an expression forbidding speech. Toku is the name of an island north of Vavau, and of several other localities.

42. Tuakilaumea says that he will no longer consort with Mumui.

Pages 100-102. Rhymes for the game of hiko

1. I know of no other occurrence of the form Savaiki in Tongan.
2. Many names in this rhyme are of chiefs.

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539 245 524 857 **21. Faka-hopo taokave:** Making *taokave* jump.

The *taokave* is a kind of coconut which bears small fruits, but carries a large number on the bunch. As the fruits mature the press of so many on the same stalk constantly forces nuts off the bunch. There is a boys' game called *faka-hopo taokave*, which consists in a number of boys lying down side by side all pressing in towards the center. Any boy who gets shoved out of place on to the top of the other must then go to one of the [578] ends. The expression is used proverbially of a number of people giving someone the cold shoulder, crowding out an individual whom they do not want.

539 [137] **22. Fakatuamelie ki he ete mea oku tau he fuu telie:** Relying confidently on my thing that is hanging in the *telie* tree (*Terminalia catappa* or *T. litoralis*).

There is an old story about one who used to hang food in a tree for another to get. If the food were good and tasty it was hung in a *telie* tree, but if not very appetizing it was put in a *tavahi* tree (*Rhus taitensis?*). The person for whom these supplies were left always anticipated with confidence that what he got from the *telie* would be first-rate, but never expected anything very good from the *tavahi*. Used generally of relying with full confidence on anybody or anything. (See No. 23.)

23. Fakatuatamaki ki he ete mea oku tau he fuu tavahi: Without confidence in my thing that is hanging in the *tavahi* tree.

To expect little good from any person or thing. (See No. 22.)

539 797 231 554 **24. Feji lou-ji:** Breaking off *ji* leaves.

This is recent, and is said to owe its being to the missionary's cow. The leaves of the *ji* (*Cordyline terminalis*) are used for cow feed, and a man who wanted to get into the missionary's good graces would recommend himself by his readiness to get food for the cow. Used generally of ingratiating services.

539 245 **25. Fokotuu niu:** Piling up coconuts.

Coconuts are very plentiful in Tonga, and large heaps are gathered. Applied to that which is in great quantity.

539 461 **26. Foui ne fai:** The *foui* tree did it.

This is the literal translation following the story told of the origin of the expression. The story is that a man and his wife lived together in a compound fenced all round, but at one spot a *foui* tree growing just outside the boundary leaned over within the compound. The woman often asked her husband to cut this tree down, but he procrastinated until at length a man of irresistible charm climbed up the tree and, thus gaining access to the inside of the compound, successfully paid his addresses to the lady of the house. To her husband's wrath she retorted that his own

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539 821 461 183 **293. Mokomoko aho:** Coolness (of) day.

This indicates the coolness which precedes the dawn, and is thus a harbinger of day. It is used to encourage those who are getting towards the end of a task. Persevere, be of good heart, we are close to daylight, we have nearly finished.

539 821 **294. To lelei ae ataata:** The dusk falling well, "The sun setting in a clear sky" (Baker).

A sign of fair weather; has the same applications as similar expressions in English.

539 821 571 829 **295. Afa ka e tofu:** Hurricane but there will be calm.

An exhortation to people in hardship not to make their present difficulties an excuse for neglecting the kindnesses which men owe to each other. The present adversity may make it difficult to do a kindness to a neighbor, but prosperity will return and then the neglected opportunities of showing good-will will be remembered with shame.

539 821 **296. Fakatofutofu kae hiko:** Calm but about to blow; apparently well but again falling upon evil.

The expression originates with the hurricane. As the wind veers there is a calm; after this interval the wind blows again from another quarter with as great violence as before. The word *hiko* translated above as "blow" has perhaps the signification of moving on to another quarter. [524] In the game of *lafo* this word is used of a disc which passes another and lies nearer to the scoring-line.

297. Hange ho aho tafitonga: Like a clear bright day (literally day swept by the south wind).

[157] Applied to persons of open, serene countenance.

298. Matafi e tonga ho finangalo: May the south wind sweep your mind; may your mind be serene and unruffled.

[157] The translation given here is probably literally correct but *tafitonga*, which seems literally to mean "swept by the south wind," is felt and written as a single word meaning "clear, serene," and is constantly used of fine weather, and figuratively of the mind.

299. Hange ha aho tuutuu taufa: Like a day of intermittent gale.

[157] A day that is neither consistently fine nor uninterruptedly stormy. Applied to persons and things which show a mingling of various characteristics.

300. Hiko hiko puku: Blow, blow short.

[183] Refers primarily to the wind blowing in short squalls following quickly one another. Used of things good or bad following quickly one after

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
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DISTINGUISHED PERSONS

359. Halaia Moli tuku kia Loli: Moli guilty—attribute it to Loli. 539 571

We have no information about Moli and Loli, but the phrase means that the blame of one man's wrong-doing is thrown onto another.

360. Hola pe te ke hao ki he fale o Vave: Flee that you may be safe to the house of Vave. 539 571

Vave was a great warrior who lived in Haavakaotua, a district near Nukualofa. So great was his might and so secure were those whom he protected that to flee to him for safety passed into a proverb. 701

361. Tekei a Lei hono fuu mei: Pushing Lei from his bread-fruit tree. 539 571

We have not been able to get any story relative to Lei or his bread-fruit tree, but the expression means to deprive anyone of what rightfully belongs to him. 421

362. Vikia vikia a Apolosi, Pea kuo te viku pongipongi: Apollos is praised, praised, and I am wet in the morning. 539 793

This is modern, since the introduction of Christianity. Apollos was a Tongan native clergyman held in high repute. On one occasion he was sailing in a boat with a silly man named Pane whom during the course of the voyage he pushed into the sea. Pane sank, and as he came up vented his disgust at the cleric's treatment in the above rather cryptic utterance. The force of "in the morning" seems to be either that the outrage was perpetrated early in the day, or early in the voyage, or perhaps that this was Pane's first acquaintance with the reverend gentleman, and so "right away," "first go off." "Here's a nice sort of chap for you; everybody praises him, but all I've ever got out of him is a jolly good ducking."

LEGENDARY DEITIES

363. Alu hifo ki takele o Maui: Go down to Maui's foundation, that is, to the depths of the earth. 539 776

In the distribution to the gods of residences the Underworld was assigned to Maui. 773

364. Jika a Maui: Darting of Maui. 539

Used of a long throw in the game of *jika*. Baker renders the phrase, "columns of smoke," which seems to liken a column of smoke rising straight and high into the air to the great cast which Maui might be expected to make in the form of *jika* in which the object was to throw as high as possible; but since the Maui lived in the Underworld it may be that the column of smoke is likened to a cast of these redoubtable deities from their subterranean home into the upper air. 776 773 524

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
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and was given the principal cup by the commander-in-chief. The army raised a shout of joy on hearing the pledge of Mahina, regarding the undertaking of so noted a warrior as a thing already as good as done, but when the battle was joined the honor of first blood fell to another. The chief on being told that Vaipoa had not succeeded in performing his vaunt, remarked in reference to the earlier confident applause of the hero's admirers, "That was Vaipoa rejoicing." 539 726 276 554

575. Ta ae uluafi: Slay the first foe; the head of battle. 539

Ulu-afi seems to mean literally the head of fire, and is a term regularly used of the first man killed in battle. To kill the first foe is used of overcoming initial difficulties, securing a first success, in much the same way as we speak of drawing first blood. 726

576. He oku puli ae kava i Atata? Is the kava in Atata lost to view, or forgotten? 539 726 276 554

Atata is a small island just off the coast of western Tongatabu. Just before engaging in battle it was the practice to hold a kava ceremony at which the first cup was sometimes given to the warrior who pledged himself to be the first to slay one of the enemy. The first slain was called by a special name, *uluafi*, which apparently means literally "head of fire." On the occasion commemorated in this expression the kava before battle was drunk on the island of Atata, the first cup being duly claimed and drunk by a certain brave. When the battle was joined and the first of the enemy slain the commanding chief asked who had struck him down, when the warrior who had taken the pledge of the first cup answered, "Is the kava in Atata forgotten?" thus proudly asserting that he who had pledged himself in the kava was of course the one who had performed the feat.

SPORTS AND GAMES

LAFO

[*Lafo* is a game played by throwing large beans or disks of coconut-shell along a mat, the object being to make the disk stand as close as possible to the edge of the mat. The mat is bolstered up along the sides so as to present a concave surface. Usually it is played by teams of two, a pair of opponents sitting together at each end; but there was a form of the game in which the single men were replaced by groups of five, thus making teams of ten—two groups of five each at either end. In this form of the game the leaders of the fives sat at the ends of the mat two pairs facing each other, while the remaining parties of four sat round the corners, at the sides of the mat, and turned slightly aslant so as to face along the mat. There were five pieces to throw, and in the game where there were five men instead of one, each man had but one piece; in the form played by teams of two each man throws five pieces. Opponents throw alternately. The score is reckoned from six to ten, these five points constituting an *ulu*, game, and the winning side is that which scores the greater number out of five *ulus*. In the case of the sides being equal with two *ulus* each the fifth game is scored from one to ten, thus having ten points. *Lafo* is a fine game, but little played now.] 524

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539 524 183 555 **577. Aufua a Tefuli:** Coming up the side of Tefuli.

This is an expression from the game of *lafo*, in which Tefuli was a past master. The expression indicates that which is excellent, manifests wonderful skill. Tefuli was a man of no particular rank who lived in Feletoa with the chief Ulukalala, probably the Ulukalala (Finau) who was Mariner's friend. Tefuli was extraordinarily skillful at *lafo* and could at will make the pieces go to the very edge of the mat and even project slightly over the edge without falling. It is related of him that on one occasion he visited Tongatabu and went to Mua, and played there at *lafo* with one of the Tui Tonga family as his partner. The match was very close, each side having scored two games, and in the fifth game, the final one, they were equal within one point of the game. In the final throw all of Tefuli's pieces went over the edge of the mat, while his opponent's stood in good scoring positions from which it was practically impossible to dislodge them, until Tefuli's last throw, when he made his piece slide along the edge of the mat, round his opponent's pieces, and balance itself delicately overhanging the edge, an almost impossible feat. Only after this exploit did it become known that the wonderful player was none other than Tefuli. For this exploit he received gifts and land. Before the final throw his partner had promised him that if he did not succeed with it he would put him to death. The phrase has accordingly a proverbial application in addition to the accomplishment of the seemingly impossible, namely that in which it is death to fail.

539 524 **578. Fua tuku ulu:** Measure concluding game (*ulu*).

An expression from *lafo*. In the event of a dispute arising as to which of two pieces is nearer to the mark it may be agreed that the distance be measured, and the game *(ulu)* decided straightway by that measure, quite irrespective of the points which each side had already scored. It may even happen that the game be won in this way although there are other pieces nearer to the edge of the mat than the two over which the discussion arose. Used of a decision or judgment which is to close dispute, is to be final.

579. Kai pe ae toekai: The *tockai* naturally scores.

In *lafo* the man who threw last was called *tockoi* (this was also the name of one of the pieces), and the man who threw first was called *tuku-mua* (also the name of a piece). The *tockoi*, having the last shot, had the best chance of scoring, and with players evenly matched almost invariably did score. In general the phrase indicates the success of one who is most advantageously placed; it goes without saying that such an one will be the successful party.

539 524 576 565 559 **580. Mata lafo lau kai:** Looking on at *lafo* counting score.

It is a piece of unforgiveable presumption for the onlookers to call out the score. *Lafo* was preeminently a chiefs' game and players would usually be of superior rank to the spectators. It is said that in earlier days a man might be struck down for venturing to utter the score aloud if he were not playing himself. Much like the English "Mind your own business."

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581. Nai huni: Sparing oil-rag. A *lafo* term. 539 524 183

The *huni* is a small piece of cloth on to which oil was poured to rub on the pieces to make them run smoothly. A man may use the oil very sparingly for fear of making his piece too greasy, thus causing them to travel too easily and too far. This expression is applied to one who, afraid of over-doing the oil, has overdone his caution with the up-shot that his piece has come short. Used of one who is cautious and sparing in the use of his material and has thereby failed in that at which he aimed.

582. Olo faka-lafo-koa: Deceit, device, after the manner of *lafo-koa;* allurement by strategem (Baker). 539 524 525

Lafo-koa is a game of *lafo* played for stakes. The players make remarks to each other to put their opponents off their game, though it is against the rules to do this to a man as he is actually about to throw. This "barracking" is common to all games of *lafo* but probably there would be more all round keenness where stakes were involved. As applied generally the idea of the expression seems to be that just as one may think of something clever to say to hamper an opponent's play, or perhaps think of some clever device to bring off a successful throw, so may he invent some ingenious method of accomplishing his purpose whatever it may be.

583. Oua te ke mata-fala ua: Don't be at two ends of the mat. 539 524

A *lafo* expression. In a game with two on each side the pair of opponents sitting together at each end of the mat adjust differences, discuss and decide which is the scoring piece. When the game is played by groups of five, one of each of these fives, namely the one called the *toekai* who throws last, performs the offices of umpire in consultation with the *toekai* of the opposing side who sits next to him. The *toekai* sit facing each other at the ends of the mat while the rest of the teams sit around the corner at the side. This phrase is a rebuke to a man who wishes to interfere in the consultations and decisions of the players at the opposite end of the mat. Generally, to mind one's own business. [183]

584. To to motua paanga: Falling, falling large piece.

The reference is to the large piece, in the game of *lafo*, falling upon and sweeping from the mat the smaller pieces. One large piece may sweep from the mat several of the smaller pieces. One who is strong brushing aside all the opposition of even a number of puny adversaries. [578]

585. Va kaunahu: Edge of *nahu* space.

The edge of the mat in *lafo* used to be raised by bolstering up with a bed of *nahu*, a sort of fern. The *kaunahu*, *nahu* edge, therefore, is the raised cushion along the side of the mat which skillful players are able to use with great effect. The space, interval, road, of the *nahu* edge is a difficult shot which a good player can bring off by using the raised sides of the mat. Used generally of that which is difficult but not impossible.

586. Va puna: Jumping distance.

A *lafo* expression indicating that the pieces of two opponents are close together but not touching, so that one player is able to throw a second

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
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539 524 piece and knock his opponent's piece off the mat, make it jump off the mat, without disturbing his own first piece. If this move is brought off successfully the man who makes it will have two pieces of his own in good positions, and will have put one of his opponent's pieces out of action. Proverbially it means that there is an obstacle ahead but it can be shifted.

HEU LUPE

223 The sport of *heu lupe*, pigeon catching, was carried out on a mound. Trained pigeons were used as decoys, and when the quarry approached near enough it was caught in a large net mounted on a pair of long handles hinged near the bottom end. The man who manipulated the net closed the mouth of it when the pigeon was inside by bringing the hinged handles together.

539 223 **587. Ala i jia ala i kolonga:** Skillful in *jia*, skillful in *kolonga*.

This expression originates in the sport of pigeon snaring. The mound where the snaring was actually carried out is called the *jia* and the place where the work (largely culinary) necessary for the comfort of the sportsmen was done is called the *kolonga*. This expression means literally a [157] man whose energy and ability are equally conspicuous in either place, and [829] is freely used of a good all-round man.

588. Fakalaa i jia melie: Enduring sun on lucky pigeon mound.

Although the principal times for the pigeon snaring are the morning and evening, yet one will put up with the inconveniences of the midday [183] sun if the sport be good. So in any pursuit one will put up with inconveniences and hardships so long as his object is attained.

589. Fakalaa i jia tamaki: Enduring sun in bad pigeon-mound.

[183] The reverse of No. 588; enduring hardship and inconvenience for what after all proves to be not worth the pains.

590. Faka-mui-manoa: At end of tethering cord.

The *manoa* is the cord with which the tame decoy pigeon was tied. However far the pigeon went it could always be traced along the cord, provided that the near end of the cord was still in hand. It is applied to a thing that has been out of sight for some time, but is at last traced up and found.

[521] Another explanation given is that the decoy pigeon has reached its quarry without all the cord running out, there is still more to follow, and it is said to be applied to a conversation or other employment discontinued for the time, but "to be continued in our next." (See No. 591.)

591. Motu manoa: Separated (from) tethering cord.

The cord with which a decoy pigeon is tied has run out to its full length and been let go. Applied to a thing which is finished; there is no more to follow.

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539 526 183 **608. Fanifo kave papa:** Surf-riding, borne by board.

The man who is not very skillful at the sport depends entirely on his board to get safely over the breakers, whereas to the real expert the board is a matter of indifference. Applied to the man who gets safely over his difficulties rather through assistance afforded him than by his own intrinsic merits.

609. Holo pe tuu he kōe ngalu e faji: Keep places, for the wave will break.

An expression taken from the sport of riding the breakers *(fanifo)*. It may happen that the swimmers have to wait a considerable time for a suitable breaker, and that some of them will become impatient and begin to swim about or to divert themselves in some other way rather than watch attentively for a good wave: but the advice of the expert is to keep continually ready for the wave when it comes; only thus can one be sure of utilising opportunity when it does present itself. It is an exhortation to watchful patience.

MISCELLANEOUS

539 224 283 **610. Fai mai e hele pulu ki he hele kalava:** Snare of coconut husk brought to snare of fibre of the coconut leaf stem.

Of these two snares that made of the fibres taken from the stem of the leaf is tougher and stronger than that made of fibres from the husk of the ripe fruit. If these two sorts of cord were knotted together and a strain put on at the ends the weaker would break.

[571] Applied to a man trying to get the better of one who is stronger or cleverer than himself.

539 526 **611. Hange ha hapohapo tangamimi:** Like catching a bladder.

The pig's bladder is frequently taken and blown up, thrown about and caught by children at play, but on account of its lightness it is apt to bounce from the hands and is hard to catch. Used of boats tossed about by the waves, and generally of that which is elusive and difficult to get a firm hold of.

539 524 **612. Hange ha moli touhuhu:** Like a stabbed shaddock.

Originates in a boys' game called *touhuhu*, stabbing. A shaddock was suspended by a cord at a convenient height above the ground and the players stood round armed with small sharp sticks. The shaddock was sent swinging round and the boys made jabs at it with their sticks. A point was scored whenever the shaddock was impaled on the sticks, each player counting his own points. The score ran from six to ten, that is, the player won who first pierced the fruit five times. The shaddock by this treatment [701] was soon battered and war-worn. The phrase is applied especially to a much wounded warrior, and generally in the same way as we speak of a person or thing that is much scarred, war-worn.

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613. Luki aka fai ki Fiji: Challenging Fiji to a kicking match. 539 829 648

Used of an immoderate boast or challenge. Fiji is a country far from Tonga, and its inhabitants are numerous. To challenge Fiji, therefore, is doubly an immoderate boast. To reach the scene of action is no mean task, and when the initial difficulty of navigation is overcome one's hands will be more than full with so many antagonists.

614. Matakai ngalo oua e kau ai: Don't count a forgotten *matakai*. 539 524

This refers primarily to the game of *fiji*, or flipping, which consists in flipping one by one a bundle of small light sticks from the bottom of an inverted basket, or some such stand, across which they are laid. The *matakai* in this instance are the sticks. When a player has successfully flipped all the sticks (not so easy by the way as it looks) he says, "no forgotten sticks are to count," thus saving himself from all penalty should any be found to have dropped down and been overlooked. The expression comes to be a sort of general forestalling of the effects of any sins of omission

615. Tua ka matakai pipiki: A chap to stick to the matakai.

The *matakai* is the object with which the game of *liaki*, and other games, were played. This phrase refers to the game of *liaki*, in which one player held a small object such as an orange seed between two fingers, clenching the fist. The man who held the *matakai* put his clenched fists out in front of him while his opponent, without touching him, tried to make him laugh or squirm and drop the *matakai*. A man who was invulnerable to all the attacks made on his nerves or risibility was able to keep his fists tight shut and hold the *matakai*. Applied to one who is adept at sticking to things, who keeps a firm hold on his property, and also applied to one who keeps his own counsel. [157]

DANCING

616. Haka i langi tau: Dancing to suitable music. 539 535 533

Where the music is good and rhythmic the dancing will be easy and attractive, a fit vehicle of rejoicing and calculated to cause pleasure to the beholders. Strictly the word *langi* seems to denote rather the line or group of singers than the music itself. This phrase, written as one word, is freely used in the sense of joy, rejoicing.

617. Malanga i faiva: Getting up during dance. 539 535 183

The word *faiva* is not confined to dances but is applied also to games and sports and generally to any employment requiring skill. The idea of this phrase is that of a man who should go, say, to a dance, not as a performer but simply as a spectator; but who during the dance is moved to get up and join in, though he has not practised for the occasion. He stands there in all his unpractised awkwardness among those who have perfected themselves in the movements. A useful warning for extemporaneous speakers. [524] [526] [537]

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941 : OU9 Tonga OU9 Vavau Pangai

The degree of uniformity in the work of ten different men on one day is shown by Table 3 below:

TABLE 3.—WORK FOR ONE DAY

NAME	MORNING		AFTERNOON		EVENING
	EARLY	LATE	EARLY	LATE	
Biukala	*Fono* meeting. Worked in bush. Ate boiled food.	Read. Slept until noon.	Hoed garden.	Church.	Visited. Ate. Played *lafo.*[9] Slept.
Tui	Fed chickens, pigs. Fetched food from bush. Went to Neiafu.	Bagged copra	Bagged copra.	Hoed garden.	Bathed. Ate. Slept.
Betelo	*Fono* meeting. Drank *kava* all morning.		Bush for food.	Cooked food.	Slept.
Lole	Ate cold food. Hoed garden.		Returned from bush.	Drank *kava.*	*Kava* party till 3 a.m.
Benny K.	Bush for food. *Kava* for visitor. Ate.	Prepared church-lesson.	Read Bible.	Church.	Played *lafo.* Ate. Slept.
Tevita	Bush for food. *Kava* for visitors. Prepared feast.		*Kava* all afternoon.	Ate feast.	Slept.
Potemani	Bush for food. Boiled, ate food.	Planted pineapples for friend.	Hoed garden.	Slept in bush.	Visited. Slept.
Beni F.	*Fono* meeting. Hoed garden.	Prepared bush oven.	Ate in bush.	Visiting. Church.	Drank *kava.*
Moala	*Fono* meeting. Cooked food. Slept.	Ate food.	Drank *kava.*	Church.	Drank *kava.*
Tuipulotu	Boiled food.	Hoed garden.	Slept.	Planted *taro.*	Visited. Ate. Slept.

[9] The game of *lafo* is played by tossing coconut shell discs from one end of a mat to the other. Sets of discs for this game are hard to find in the village; there are two sets only among all the householders. They are in consequence highly valued and cherished. The game is infrequently played but greatly enjoyed when played. Formerly, the game was played only by chiefs, and commoners "caught playing this game . . . would be punished, perhaps even with death," according to Gifford (*Tongan Society*, p. 117). The fact that the game is played at all today by commoners is a good measure of some of the internal changes that have been going on within Tongan culture. The only reason why the game is not more frequently played seems to be group inertia. The coconut discs could be easily made if the desire to play were present.

512 462 551 491 (1941) (1938) (1939) (1940)

23: Colıocott M-4,5 (no date) 1925 OU9 Tonga OU9

192 *Fine-motua*, married woman (plur. *Finematua*).

Fisi, a game in which light sticks are flipped.

Fisiba, flip, frequently as a gesture of astonishment; *Fisiba Ha'amoa mo Niua*, Samoa and Niua are surprised.

Fisifisitata'i, flip and tap.

Fisikaho, a mode of arranging the hair.

Foefoe-lua, to use the oar also, i.e., as an auxiliary to the sail.

Fo'uhia, build (boat).

Fofoga'i-mama, fire, light, burnt at funeral of a high chief.

Fohua, tassel on edge of mat (v. *Taufohua*).

Fokihaga, turning place.

Fokihagc-folau, place for voyager (772) to turn back. This has a special reference to the tree on the edge of the world where mortal voyagers must turn and come back. The preceding word, *fokihaga*, also used of this turning p'ace.

Fokololo, (i) dress in which corpse buried; (ii) seamen of the king (v. also Baker, s.v.).

Fokotu'uga, short voyage, ferry trip.

Fokotu'uniu, large pile.

Fola-'osi, complete width of native cloth, i.e., two *ma'ukubu* (q.v.); a chief's dress *(vala)*.

Folaha, to cut the Tui Tonga's hair.

Folehia, spread abroad, published, talked about (?), cf. *Folahi*.

Folofua, gulp down, swallow.

Fono, (i) gather, assemble; (ii) planking in side of boat.

Fono-ha'iha'i, (524) a game in which players bind each other in turn, to see who can get free from opponent's binding.

Fonotaki, serve as food *(fono)* with *kava*.

Fonu-toho, name of a fish (turtle?)

Fota, a little basin of rocks in the sea in which to take the fish called *ulukau*. The word, or the method, seems properly to belong to the people of Talau in Vava'u (v. *Kau*).

Foto, stingray's tail.

Fotu, chief who bears *kava* at head of ceremonial procession.

Fuabo, commence the ceremony of watching with lights round house in which dead chief is lying (v. *Bo*).

Fui, to dip in water.

Fuifui, flock of birds (v. Baker). Following words used to describe approach or appearance of flock of pigeons: *tubutubu*, just appearing, scarcely discernible; *nono* (the name of a small insect) individual birds just distinguishable; *namu* (mosquito) individual birds just distinguishable; *lago* (fly) birds appearing a little larger; *nusi* (swift, swallow), birds again a little larger.

Fuifui tauhala, flock with an odd number of birds. The odd bird increases the difficulty of snaring by flying about looking for a mate.

Fuifui tauhoa, flock with an even number of birds in it.

Fuifui buleoto, necklace of *buleoto* (a prized shell, supposed to reveal chastity or infidelity of the wearer).

Fuofuavale, a phase of the moon, almost full (v. *Tongan Astronomy and Calendar*).

Fuogogoo, swelling, large and round (?).

Fu'ufu'uga (me'a), great quantity.

Fugani, row of sweet-smelling flowers and leaves adorning top part of leaf girdle.

Fugani-ua, girdle with double *fugani*.

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192 [524] *Kiato gaholo*, lit. *kiato* speed, is applied to a boat which sails well, not in virtue of her build, but because of good handling. The people of Lofanga and Tungua, both in Haapai, had the reputation of being able to get speed out of slow boats.

[193] *Kie*, plant from which the mat called *kie* is made.

Kie fau, fine mat *(kie)* made of inner bark of hibiscus *(fau)*.

Kie taofi, the mat *(kie)* presented by a virgin bride to her husband. Before the institution of present marriage arrangements it was the custom for a virgin to present a particular mat to the man who first won her. *(Kie taubo'ou* occurs in some texts, apparently in reference to this same mat.)

[193] *Kie-ta-ua*, pair of mats *(kie)*. *Faka-kie-ta-ua*, like a pair of (famous) mats.

Kie-taufohu'a, mat *(kie)* with fringed edges. V. *Taufohu'a*.

Kie Toku, a kind of mat, named probably after one of the places called Toku, of which there are several, including an island in Vava'u.

Kiu foanga, a species of *kiu* (plover).

Kikano'i, to support a bad cause, to be constantly in mischief in spite of reproof.

Kiki, young *veka* (rail), possibly an onomatopoeic word.

Kili, bark, skin (as Baker); *Kili uli*, dark bark, i.e., outside bark; *Kili ma'a*, white bark, i.e., inside bark.

Kima, name of a beach or landing place in Vava'u.

Kina, meat part of a meal, savory. (Syn. *Kiki.)*

Kini, cry of *sikota* (kingfisher).

Kini, drive away flies (high chiefly word).

Kitikiti, game played by jabbing as many holes as possible in sand whilst the word *kitikiti* is said over and over in a single breath. The holes are then smoothed out whilst the word *vukilo* is being said.

Ko, the well known Polynesian prefix (or preposition). Its use may perhaps be most clearly stated by calling it a mark of the absolute, or of the nom. absolute. It is used with noun, pronoun, or clause standing in apposition with other words, with a word standing alone, and in general with nouns not preceded by any other preposition or case particle. With the article *e* it coalesces forming *Koe*.

Kou, equivalent to *kuou*, formed by coalescence of *kuo*, sign of present or perfect tense, with 1st. pers. sing. pron.

Kouta, (i) marshy place, especially one which dries up in dry weather; (ii) name of a creeping plant which grows in marshy places.

Kobu, throat and gut of fish.

Kofeloa, lit. long bamboo, one of a pair of fishing-rods used in certain types of fishing from boats, of which the other is called *masila*.

Kofetafa, bamboo knife.

Kogaumu, oven (Niua Fo'ou).

Koko, to cut the hair moderately short.

Kokolo, fall.

Koli, bow-legged.

Koloa, lit. wealth, possessions, a respectful term for the teeth.

Kolofale, meaning uncertain.

Kolokalo, lit. cock's comb, the flower of the *gatae (Erythrina Indica)*.

Koso, small, diamond-shaped protuberances carved on decking of canoe.

(To be Continued.)

[pp. 170-192 not processed]

23: Collocott M-4,5 (no date) 1925 OU9 Tonga OU9

192 *Lea-tuki*, oath.

Lei-magamaga, expression occurring in an old poem, and unknown to present day Tongans; probably it is a punning or covert allusion to the female pudenda. Cf. Fij. *Maga*, pud. muliebr., Sam. *Magamaga*, orificium vaginae. Some such meaning seems suitable to the context.

[524] *Leua*, game in which two girls sit facing each other and clap each other's open palms.

Leba-heke, go dead slow. Also *Lebelebaheke*.

Leke, space in house between mat and wall (Niua Fo'ou); corner, bend (v. also *Abaaba*).

Lekeleka, phase of waning moon in her last quarter; a still later phase is *Lekeleka-mate*.

Lele, incoherent speech of possessed priest.

Leleca, to be unsuccessful in pigeon-hunting.

Lele'o, plur. of *le'o*, guard.

Lelebani, lying prostrate, used especially, if not exclusively, of a dead body laid out for burial (v. *Taano*).

Leleva, (i) long; (ii) name of a fish of same species as *o* and *bokumei*.

Levenifale, housewife, or perhaps the people of a house. (A Fijian loan word.)

Levenivaka, women passengers in a boat, or it may include perhaps male as well as female passengers, and crew. (Fijian loan word.).

Levenivalu, *Leveniaivalu*, } hero, conqueror.

Levu, well-ripened, soft. Cf. *Leu*, Baker.

Lieliaki, throw about.

Liuloto, return without accomplishing one's design, change one's purpose.

Liufakahake, bilge *(liu)* of the larger of the two canoes in the double canoe. (In baling the baler must hand up, *fakahake*, the vessel containing the water to someone above, on account of the size of the canoe.)

Libi, ridge, rib. (syn. *Ivi*), cf. Malay, *Belimbing*.

Libi } strongly built with well-
Libilibi } marked thews and sinews, with prominent edge. *Ve'e-libilibi*, leg with prominent shinbone.

Liboi, a word applied to the wind, but of uncertain meaning, perhaps fair wind, or head wind. (Samoan *Lipoi* is given as place of shelter.)

Lika, dream (highest chiefs).

Likekina, thrown, cast away.

Liku, (i) a virgin's taking part nude (or with but a narrow cincture) in a dance, as a vaunt of her beauty and virginity; (ii) buttocks; (iii) barb of a spear (?).

Likuvale, a weapon of war, either an eight-faced club, or eight-barbed spear.

Liliki, small (Niua Fo'ou).

Limu-amea, a kind of sea-weed.

Liva, an adjective applicable to a large stream, pool, etc., or to a big wind.

Li-vaka, pass another boat.

Lo'alo'a, *(lo'a)*, brownish, faded. *Kau lo'a*, fruit fallen before it has ripened.

Loaloa, black (possibly a Fijian borrowing). There is also a text in which the word occurs where the meaning is doubtful.

Lou-kie, leaf of *kie* (used in making the fine mats called *kie*).

Louloua'a, unwilling, making difficulties (chiefly); used in fishing of a shark which is in sight, but refuses to come close to the boat.

Louloutoi, cook (?). (Cf. *Rourou*, Fijian, Maori.)

23: Collocott M-4,5 (no date) 1925 OU9 Tonga OU9

Magamaga, tail of a fish (with special application perhaps to the bonito).

Mahaki rala, elephantiasis in scroto; there is a text in which it seems to be used as an expression for indecent talk (following the word *lea*, talk).

Mahi, sound of the surf (?). *Ka to 'ae mahi bea na femahui mai.*

Mahigo, occurs in one text, but is probably mis-spelling of *mehigo*, for which see Baker.

Mahofohofa, spread out.

Mahu, low crying sound.

Mahu'ia, whispered about, discussed unfavourably.

Mahunu, slightly burnt.

Maka, (lit. rock), teeth (disrespectful).

Makanaka, style of tattooing in which the skin is not entirely covered with pigment, but the design is drawn with separate lines.

Makabe, tilted, raised, come to the surface.

Maka kafu, covering-stone of vault

Makali, rapidly disappearing, running off.

Makamiki, game in which one player guesses in which hand his opponent is holding a piece (called *matakai*).

Makifu, scamper.

Ma'a, a dead person. *Hoto mala*, my dead relative, funeral in which I am concerned.

Malaga, (i) journey, travel, voyage; (ii) ambassador; the Tu'i Kanokubolu, and possibly the Tu'i Tonga also, had ambassadors in the courts of other chiefs; (iii) meeting *(fono)*.

Malagalaga, plur. of *malaga*, collective term for *matabules*.

Maluhia, drunk (highest chiefly term).

Ma'akilaki, uncircumcised though presenting the appearance of being circumcised. This word seems to have had a peculiar history; though applied properly, and without offence, to the Tu'i Tonga, who could not be circumcised in Tonga, it was to all others an offensive and indecent word; but to-day is used in some parts of the group as a salutation to chiefs, though avoided in other parts through remembrance of its real meaning.

Malama, light, lamp (Niua Fo'ou).

Malata, ricochet (?).

Malave, wounded, hurt, choked, grieved, remembered, longed for.

Malele, high cape, promontory.

Malila, dried tobacco leaf (Manilla?).

Malili, cold (Niua Fo'ou).

Malo, (i) blossom of bread-fruit tree; (ii) loincloth of paper mulberry cloth.

* *Malo e liaki*, greeting to net-fishers.

* *Malo e maea*, greeting to shark-fishers.

* *Malo e auhia*, greeting to turtle-fishers.

Malo-kula, red waist cloth (the badge of Ha'apai in war and dance).

Malu'a, protected, covered.

Malumalu-'o-Fulilagi, lit. Shade-of-Fulilangi (possibly the name of one of the Tu'i Belehake), the name of the *ovava* tree in Alaki associated with Captain Cook's visit, and usually known as Captain Cook's tree. It fell somewhere about the year 1916.

Mamahu'a, weary (?).

Mamala, name of a tree (plentiful in Eua).

Mamohe, sound sleep.

Manava, sea-stores of food.

Manoga, peaceful.

Manogisia, fragrant, sweet-smelling.

Manogo, meaning uncertain.

* These greetings are chiefly.

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,QF4,S (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

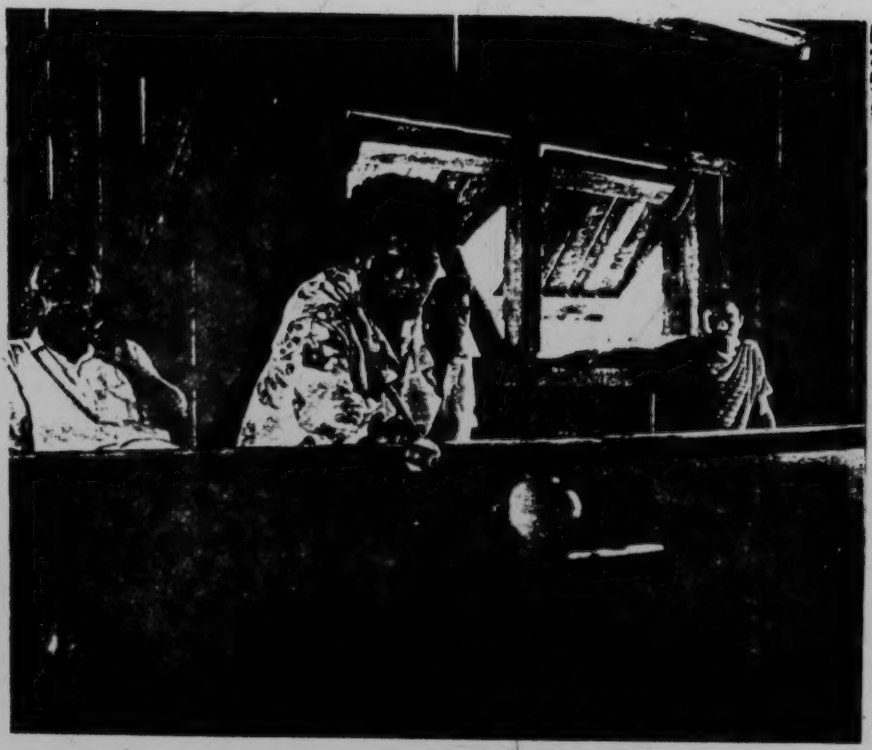
526
241
577
142

[524]

While life goes on otherwise uninterrupted, the quiet of a Tongan village often witnesses an exciting game of volleyball (*above:* Neiafu, Vava'u), or behind the scenes, a game of pool (*opposite:* 'Ohonua, 'Eua)—both of which are favorite pastimes in Tonga.

Ko e taha eni e ongo faiva sipoti manakoa 'i Tonga, 'a e voli pole 'o hange ko ia 'i he ta 'i 'olunga (Neiafu), pea mo e hoka 'o hange ko ia 'oku ha 'i he ta 'i he tafa'aki 'e taha ('Ohonua, 'Eua).

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9



[caption is on p. 86]

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

264 each to serve a certain number, these generally divide again, so that one seldom sees above two or three eating together. The Women are [565] not excluded from eating with the Men, but there are certain ranks or orders among them that can neither eat nor drink together; it begins with the King but where it ends I cannot say.[1]

128 *Amusements* Of their amusements I need add nothing to what has been already said on this su[b]ject in the account of the incidents that happened during our stay at the islands.[2] Polygamy is 595 [565] *Polygamy* allowed to the Cheifs, and it is no uncommon thing to meet with some who will tell us they have got eight or ten wives, but the most of them are satisfied with one at least many had no more. Some of us were of opinion, that the most of those which they called their wives were only concubines, and that there was only one that was looked upon as the wife and who always appeared to be the 837 Mistress of the family.[3] As chastity at first sight appeared to be held in no great estimation, we expected to have found frequent breaches of the conjugal fidelity in the Married Women or kept Mistresses, 836 which you please, but it was the very contrary. I do not know that our whole Stay produced one instance; neither are those of the better sort that are unmarr[i]ed more free of their favours, its true there are no want of those of a different stamp, and perhaps they are more numerous in proportion to the number of people than in many other Countries; but it appeared to me that the most, if not all of them, were of the lowest class of people, and such as came to our people were Whores by profession and brought to us in order to make the most of the present time.

164 *Diseases* This commerce has unhappily entailed upon them the Veneral deasease, as we had not been long at Anamocka before some of our people were affected with it, and I had the Mortification to find that all the care I took when I first Visited these islands to prevent this dreadfull desease from being communicated to them, prove enefectual. What is extraordinary the people do not

[643] [1] The general rule was that inferiors could not eat with superiors: the Tu'i Tonga could not eat in the presence of the Tamaha, and so on down the whole scale of precedence.
[644] There was also the brother-sister *tapu*, the sister being of higher rank than her brother.

[593] [2] '. . . to their private diversions may be added their household ones, the men have a game calld Kaka-'haho exactly like our Cup & ball. The Children have plays familiar to themselves, as throwing up 5 or 6 balls & catching each successively, this is mostly a Girls diversion, the boys cut a string exactly in the same manner as we do a Garter & take off & on in various shapes & ways from the fingers, they walk on Coco nut shells as we do on stilts by means of a Cord thro: the hole of the Shell with many other plays like our Children.'—King.

[524] [3] This was so, though to equate 'concubine' with 'kept mistress', as Cook does in his next sentence, is not quite happy. The word must be used in the technical polygamous social sense: a Tongan bride might bring her husband a *fokonofo*, a secondary or supplementary wife, selected by herself from her own family, perhaps a younger sister—or perhaps

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

& twirl it about with great celerity so as not to let the balls touch each other; & have a game in which they alternately throw one hand towards each other, closing it quickly & repeating something, at the same time throwing down a bit of stick from several which they hold in the other hand;[1] besides some others, as repeating the numbers by pairs, at each time leaving out the first & taking in another &c. The Children have games peculiar to themselves as throwing up four, five or even six balls so dexterously that they catch them successivily & have never more than one in the hand at the same time, which is chiefly practis'd by the girls. The boys walk with a string drawn through half a Cocoa nut shell on which they put the opening between the great toe and next at the convex part, and hauling up the string take long strides as we do with stilts. They cut a string exactly in the same way as we do a garter, and take off one in various ways from the fingers,[2] with several other things of that kind which differ little from the pastimes of our boys.

We have not yet been able to discover whether their marriages are made lasting by any kind of solemn contract, but it is certain that amongst the bulk of the people Monogamy is the mode of men & women living together, and though the superior sort have commonly several women it does not appear that Polygamy is allow'd to any but their king, though the others are undoubtedly intended to supply the place of several.[3] It seems however of less consequence that the marriages should be rigidly binding where the free intercourse between the sexes amongst the younger sort is not at all reckoned criminal but rather encourag'd. The men in these cases seem to be the proper judges of what ought to be done, and often do not spend much of their time in a tender courtship, a circumstance which might be reckon'd a great rudeness did not the women on their side encourage it by a ready compliance. In short both men and women seem to have little knowledge of what we call delicacy in Amours; they rather seem to think it unnatural to suppress an appetite originally implanted in them perhaps for the same purposes as hunger or thirst, and consequently make it often a topic of public conversation, or what is more indecent in our judgment, have been seen to cool the ardour of their mutual inclinations before the eyes of many spectators. They seem to imagine that the same freedom prevails amongst other nations, at least with respect to us, for they never

[1] Mariner calls this game 'liagi', and says it is 'the first and most important of all Tongan games'; his description is in II, pp. 221–2. *Liaki* means to swing, toss, or fling, but does not now seem to be applied to a game.

[2] Cat's cradle—Tongan *matamatakupenga*—is widespread in the Pacific.

[3] *though the others . . . several*: it is difficult to see what precisely Anderson means by this.

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

Among their Amusements has been omitted the following which the Children use, the first is keeping four balls up for a long time like some of the slight of hand gentry do in England. The other is darting a Stick with an oval head a great way which they do by striking it first against the ground, it then rebounds to a considerable distance, this is a play very common among the young boys.

During our Stay among them they did not seem to have any quarrels on their Hands either foreign or domestic, however they informed us that a little time before our Arrival they had been at War with the People of an Island called Fidgee which they said lay to the WNW at the distance of five day's Sail which may be ab[t] 200 Leagues. By their Account this Island of Fidgee is much larger than Tongataboo, & the People numerous & as they say Cannibals. However at this [time] there were some of the Natives of that Island at Tongataboo, & it is probable that the two Isles carry on a Trade in time of peace. We saw some pieces of Cloth very curious & prettily painted which they told us came from Fidgee & that none like it was made at Tongataboo.

It is probable that the white people above described are the same with those mentioned in the Spanish Voyages published by Dalrymple & which he supposes were the Inhabitants of the Southern Continent which the Spaniards were in search of. The nonexistence of which was proved so incontestibly by Capt[n] Cook in his last Voyage that it must put a stop to any further Cavils & idle suppositions from the Editor of those Voyages.

Superiority of Birth seems to be held in high Estimation at these Islands, The natives priding themselves much on being related to the Chiefs whom they immagine to be the greatest Potentates upon Earth, or indeed in the Skies; for in speaking of those of the highest Rank they always told us that they were 'Agee la langee agee lalo fonooa',[1] which signifies Kings of the Skies above & of the Earth below, at the same time pointing with their Fingers to the Sky & the Earth. And as the Chiefs were held in great Veneration by all Ranks, Capt[n] Cook always treated them with due Respect & was careful that no Insult was offered to them by any of our people. Fatafee the Brother of Powlohow[2] being on board the Resolution one day & seeing a Girl whom it seems he knew with one of the Sailors between Decks, wanted to take her away from him, but the Man having engaged her for the Night & delivered the Payment to her friends, refused to part with her and the Chief insisting upon it & going to

[1] *'Eiki ha langi 'eiki lalo fonua*. The translation Samwell gives is correct, if one accepts 'kings'.

[2] Fatafehi was the family name: this was a half-brother, Ma'ulupekotofa.

535 [533] that reflect the precise beating of the nafa. In this section the creativity of the pulotu haka is greatly admired. This section uses haka from both M.I.a. and M.I.c. groups, usually repeating each [524] morpheme four times in rapid succession. Occasionally this section may be based on movements from daily life, for example, the haka fakalongolongo of one ma'ulu'ulu was based on lena, a children's game where two children face each other and hit each other's open palms. The haka fakalongolongo strives to excite both dancers and spectators to the inner exhilaration, māfana, ideally created by dance.

535 533 The second section, haka hiva, consists of haka, softer drum beating, and singing. During this section the haka, by allusion, interprets the words of the ta'anga. The ta'anga is strophic in form--that is, verse and refrain, verse and refrain. The verses need not all have the same melody or even the same number of phrases per verse. Usually the first verse corresponds to the fakatapu of a lakalaka and the last verse to its tatau. There seem to be two models for ma'ulu'ulu ta'anga; verse-refrain form from church hymns, and the through-composed form found in fa'ahiula and lakalaka.

The refrain is called tau in Tongan or 'chorus' in English, and it fulfills both functions. It is a chorus in the English sense in that it is repeated after each verse. And it is a tau in the Tongan sense in that it is this section where the performers do their best haka and are particularly māfana. The haka of the second section is

[472 cont.]

175 123 [648] before me, and took that opportunity of running off. My friend joined me immediately; and we concluded, that if there was something treacherous or vicious in the behaviour of this fellow, our separation was also imprudent, because it had furnished him with an opportunity to exercise his talents. We continued strolling about for some time, without [473] any sinister accident, and returned to the trading-place on the beach, where we found almost all the 175 571 [517] people whom we had left. Many of them were now seated in different little groups, which appeared to be so many separate families, and consisted of persons of various ages and sexes. They were all in conversation, of which no doubt the arrival of our ships furnished the topics; and many of their women amused themselves either with 175 singing or playing at ball. There was a young girl in particular, 142 whose features were more regular than common, her eyes sparkling 302 with vivacity, her whole frame admirably proportioned, and, what was most remarkable here, her long jetty hair hanging down in 175 graceful curls on her neck. This girl, lively and easy in all her 524 actions, played with five gourds, of the size of small apples, perfectly globular; she threw them up into the air one after another continually, and never failed to catch them all with great dexterity, 175 at least for a quarter of an hour. The musical ladies again performed 533 the same tune which we had already heard at Ea-oowhe, the different 184 voices falling in with each other very harmoniously, and sometimes 175 joining all together as in chorus. Though I never saw the natives 535 of these islands dance, yet we may add this amusement to the list 292 of those which they are acquainted with, from their own accounts 124 439 and gestures whenever they sold us their aprons made of stars of

74: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1978
(ca. 1800-1850)
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127 this is one limitation that must be considered: how much did the missionaries actually see and how much was heresay from other Europeans? The only way this can be checked is by constant reading of the accounts and seeing whether or not the missionaries actually acknowledged the help of Europeans. In this instance, the Wesleyan missionaries made such an acknowledgement but in other accounts they may not have and the researcher must take this limitation into consideration.

127 797 Because of the Wesleyan's religious bias, they frowned upon amusements, sports, dancing and games. Their accounts are sparse on these aspects of aboriginal Tongan life and this is one limitation for which there is no solution:- if the observer did not like what he saw and did not record it, it simply is not there. The following statement by Watkin is an isolated description of aboriginal tatooing practices:

127 797 304

> On my return this evening I found the artist whose work it was to perform the operation of tatooing the persons of the islands during the reign of idolatry. They then thought that it imparted a higher degree of personal beauty to such as underwent the painful operation, and there are some who wish to imitate their predecessors such is force of custom, although the idea that it is wrong pretty generally prevails (Watkin, Journal, April 1834).

127 797 The following description by Dyson, of the aboriginal game termed <u>lafo</u> is another isolated statement in the manuscript:

525 [524]

> An amusement called the "lafo" has just reappeared in this town. The manner in which it is performed is as follows. Four natives usually engage in it at once. Each has a pc. of a nut shell wh. he pitches across a mat & the two who lost have to give the other two a basket of food. The Leaders at our Mtg. called my attention to it today. I went immediately to the Governor & he said it was unlawful & would punish the persons who did it.

74: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1978
(ca. 1800-1850)
OU9 Tonga OU9

127 797 525 524 It is the native way of gambling. They have 10 small parts of nut shells--in two fives. Each shell of the 5 is larger than the upper one--downwards. The smallest is called Tukumua, the 2nd Hiliga-hikumua, the 3rd Lautaki, the 4th Toekeuloto the 5th Toekai. The mat is about 6 x 3 ft & during the game is raised round the edges. When the shells are pitched beyond the edge the game is lost, if they cross without falling over that is counted for the winner. It is attended with much evil & the only object is to gain food or property by hazard (Dyson, Journal, July 6, 1868).

127 797 Although the Wesleyans had a distaste for amusements (Vide Latukefu 1967: 129-130), in this instance Dyson recorded the game in depth.

The Wesleyans also interacted with the Tongan body politic (Latukefu 1967: 537-538; Hammer 1952: 170-171), and a basic limitation of the research was the Wesleyan attitude to certain Tongan social and 127 cultural behavior concerning the political structure. The researcher must ask the question of the manuscript: how would the Wesleyans describe aboriginal political structure in light of the overt Wesleyan influence on that political structure? Did the Wesleyans really understand the inextricable interconnections of Tongan religion, politics and kinship? The researcher is familiar with this connection from previous historical and ethnographic accounts, but did the Wesleyans comprehend it?

127 797 643 The Wesleyans set out to replace the aboriginal religious structure with Western beliefs. One of the major proponents of the aboriginal religious and political structure was the individual known as the Tu'i Tonga (Chief or ruler of all of Tonga). The Wesleyan descriptions of this individual must be carefully assessed, since the Tu'i Tonga was attempting to uphold the old faith while the Wesleyans were trying to

77: Whitcombe Y-3 (no date) 1930 OU9 Tonga OU9

NIU UI, NIU MEA. A clay-colored nut.
NIU MATA KULA. A red-eyed nut, used as a medicine for gum boils.
NIU MEALAVA. A green nut, used as a medicine for gum boils in young children. The husk at the top of the nut is grated and spread over the boil.
NIU KAFAKALA. A great favorite among the chiefs, because of its perfect shape and size. The milk has a delicious flavor.
NIU VAI. The largest coconut obtained in the South Seas. In the early days these shells were used for carrying water and when thus used were termed *hohoni*.
NIU TAUKAVE. Has a small fruit.
NIU TEA. A white nut.
NIU UTOGAU. A nut with a sweet husk which the natives chew like sugar cane.
NIU LEKA. This tree grows to a height of only ten feet and has a dwarf nut.
NIU KULA. A very different variety of coconut from all the others on the island. The nut is the size of a man's thumb; it has no milk, but a lump of white jelly surrounded by a thin, white, bitter skin. The tree is tall with a smooth body.

GAMES PLAYED BY CHILDREN

In the game, *kamotu'u*, several boys sit forming a ring; one goes to the center, closes his eyes, and stands looking upward until a boy from the circle touches him on the foot or leg. He then opens his eyes and goes to each boy in the circle, snapping his fingers in the face of each. When his fingers snap the loudest he has found the boy who touched him.

In *galigali a toke*, the boys stand in a row with hands on each other's hips. One player stands alone, facing the line. When the game begins, the line of boys starts running in a ring, and the lone player (*ell*), tries to catch any boy behind the leader of the line. While the game is being played this song is sung: "Galigali a toki, tuki be he ulu e toke." (Looks like an *ell* trap, but punch the *ell* on the head).

To play *touhuhu*, the boys hang a shaddock (*moli toga*) to a tree or stick and stand around it with sharpened sticks in their hands. One boy pierces the fruit with his stick, and strikes it to start it spinning around. The other boys then try to spear it while it is spinning, and the one who accomplishes this first wins the game.

Another game for boys is *tafau*. This is played with native bows and arrows. The weapon is made by taking a *kaho* stick about a yard long, splitting it down about twelve inches, and twisting one end of a piece of *fau* bark around the stick at the place where the split stops. The other end of the *fau* bark is held in the hand. The *kaho* stick or arrow is swung over the shoulder in playing, very much as if one

77: Whitcombe Y-3 (no date) 1930 OU9 Tonga OU9

857 524 were throwing a stone. The end of the *fau* bark held in the hand is released and the arrow shoots off to a great distance.

A bow and arrow game, *gahau*, is played with a very slender, supple *kaho* stick. The bow is made from a stout orange stick.

For the boys' game of *maka ta*, an implement very much like the modern slingshot is used. The bark of tapa or *fau* is used for the sling and a small pebble for ammunition. The sling is swung around the head full force, and the pebble thereby released and shot out into the air.

535 [565] A Tongan dance (*lakalaka*) may be performed by any number of people of both sexes. The leader (*bunake*), composes the dance, teaches it, and leads the dancers. He chooses leaders (*vahegas*) for both the men's and women's parts, who must be of chiefly rank, as no one considers the *lakalaka* worth watching unless the *vahega* belongs to the family of a chief. The words and music (*hiva usu*) for the *lakalaka* have been handed down from early times.

The *fahaiula* is a dance participated in by women only. The dancing is done to the sound of drums, with groups of girls sitting around singing and clapping hands to keep time for the dancers.

857 524 A game for small children (*aamoa*) is played by ten or more little girls and an old woman. The old woman covers herself with a piece of *gatu* or tapa cloth and tries to frighten the children, who run to escape her.

The game *fisi* is for both sexes. A rolled mat (*tapakau*) is placed on end with a stick on either side to support it; the children have small dried pieces of dried *fau* wood which they try to send over the top of the mat with one sharp clip of the finger.

CLOTHING OF WOMEN

291 287 [294] [283] The material used in most of the clothing worn by Tongan women in the early days was made from *feta'aki* (white tapa cloth before it had been dyed or printed). The leaves of certain trees were also used, coconut fiber serving as thread for sewing them together.

292 764 [413] [283] Funeral garments were made from leaves blackened by several days' exposure to the sun. These leaves were sewed together with a needle made from the small rib of the coconut leaf, the bark of the *fau* tree serving as thread.

287 386 A more modern method of dyeing the tapa cloth for funerals is as follows: The natives gather a great pile of candle nuts (*tutui*),

wards programme planning related to village needs of each age group as well as simple methods of club organisation. Group discussion on the problems of village life and the opportunities for their solution through *Langa Fonua* produced the request that courses of instruction be held for sectional leaders from the different districts in subjects related to homecraft and health, particularly sewing and cooking, so that each village had its own trained local instructor who could take her part in enriching the programme of the branch meeting.

The afternoon classes consisted of sewing (patchwork and patterns) and cooking, including a brief introduction to food values and the simple home cooking of basic foods as well as invalid and weaning diets. It is for concentrated courses on these subjects that the request came from the delegates and was forwarded to the Central Committee. Lively songs opened and riotous games closed the daily sessions.

The leaders went away with a few new ideas for both the educational and recreational side of their village programme, but primarily with some realisation of what might be achieved in community education through *Langa Fonua*, especially if there were sufficient trained voluntary project leaders.

Variety Of Visual Aids

Visual aids on such topics as The Village Survey, The Woman in the Home, Building a Programme, Dangers

[P. 27-C] [TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 28-B]

/162 cont./

245 huo spade they dig holes approximately 50 centimeters deep (diameter 25 to 30 centimeters) in which they plant a sprig (root sucker). They fill the plant hole with earth so that a depression remains in which water from rainfalls can accumulate. The distance between plants is about five meters on a flat area. Every three weeks or so they remove the proliferating weeds with the huo lafa-lafa. After six to nine months the first fruits can be harvested.

niu = Coconut Palm (Cocos nucifera L.)

824 178 Since the settlement of the Archipelago the coconut palm has played a very special role in Tongan culture. At the present time in particular, in view of its extraordinarily manifold uses, (426)

426. The following list will show the all-purpose uses of the coconut palm in Tonga; ("old") and ("new") indicate whether or not its utilization was already common in ancient Tonga.

[262] [252] [231] [303] [372] 1. The meat of the nut (kakano 'i niu): eaten in pieces by the natives (old); grated (or squeezed out as coconut milk) for preparing foods and beverages (old); grated to feed chickens and pigs (old), used in pieces to feed pigs (old) and horses (new); used for making copra (new); the oil obtained from the meat is used to make hair oil and body oil (lolo Tonga) (old), to fry in a pan (new) and to burn as fuel in the absence of petroleum imports (old).

[272] [262] [264] 2. The water of the nut (huhu'a oe niu): especially of unripe nuts is drunk by the natives (old); in an unripe nut it is stirred together with the meat and eaten (old); used at meals to wash one's fingers (old).

[415] [372] [524] 3. The hard shell (Endocarpium) of the nut (nge'esi niu): used for making drinking mugs (old); as fuel (old) and (as charcoal) to heat flat irons (new); used as a child's toy su nge'esi niu ("coconut shell shoes," see p. 272 (new).

[283] 4. The husk (Mesocarpium) of the nut (pulu): used to make cord (kafa) for house and boat building, for fastening blades to tools etc. (old); used as cover for hatchets

/162 cont./

824 178 [372] [752] [524] (old); serves to deep fire smoldering (old); as fuel (old). "Towel" (old), "toilet paper" (old) and to clean shoes (new): the fibers are also used to press out the grated coconut meat (old); the juice of green, warmed husks and the crumbly material between the fibers of old husks are used to treat wounds (old); used for making children's toys (sailboats) (new?).

[352] [285] [372] 5. The palm leaves (lou niu): used, as is, to sit on in the bush (old); used to make floor mats (takatapu) (old), fans (old), baskets (old), hats (for example, helemeti and tata faka-polis) (new); needed to make house walls and roofing (old); used in dry form as fuel (old).

[285] [287] [412] 6. The center rib of the leaflets (tu'a niu): used in plaiting baskets (old) and fans (old) and in making tapa stencils (see p. 328); used in making brooms (old).

/163/

[482] [372] 7. The leaf stems (tome): used as carrying sticks (see p. 250) (old); in dry state as fuel (old); also used to keep fire going (smoldering leaf stem wound with tapa) (old).

[287] [415] 8. The bast fiber at the base of the leaf stem (kaka 'i niu): used to make tapa stencils (under side) (old) and as a bag for squeezing medicines and food (old).

[313] 9. The wood or the trunk (sino oe niu): used to make rafters and roof laths (old); used as posts and beams in houses (old?), as single posts on the plantations and for palisades (old).

[278] 10. The bark (kili oe niu): used to make medicines (for stomach pains) (old).

[227] [278] 11. The roots (aka oe niu): used to plait fish baskets (traps, finaki) (old) and to make cuttle fish hooks (tailpiece) (old); the juice of roots serves as medicine for abdominal pains and headaches (old).

it maybe designated as the most useful plant of the /163/ Tonga Islands.

245 Cook reports that he came across coconut palms on Tongatapu "in astonishing numbers." (427)

427. J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 237.

535 178 [297] [669] /267 cont./ The reason for this decline is doubtless the suppression of this art by the early Wesleyan missionaries; the restless times of the civil wars in the first half of the previous century may also have had a deterring effect. The more liberal /268/ views (726)

(794) 726. Even today the active members of the Wesleyan congregations may take part in dances only if their pastor gives them permission.

of recent times and the fact that today dances are taught in schools and are also presented at church festivals have not been able to revive this art to the height of the ancient times, for the original impulse, namely, the absolute power of the chiefs at whose command and for whom the dances were once practiced, has been too much weakened, and there is no other stimulaus that is as strong.

B. Games of Adults and Children

524 In ancient Tonga there were a great many different games (that is, activities that were carried out solely for pleasure).

524 565 Among adults, the chiefs and their matapule like to engage in a hand-gesture game (liangi?) which had special rules; (727)

727. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 339-341; J.J. Labillardiere, Relation.../Account/, II. p. 146.

the lower classes were familiar with a similar, but simpler game (matua). (728)

728. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 344.

524 565 526 Other games, likewise subject to rules, with several participants, were lafo, played only by the nobility (played with chips thrown on a mat), (729)

729. For example, J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 343; E.W. Gifford, Tongan society, p. 117.

rat shooting (fana kuma) (a hunting game) (730)

730. See J. Martin, loc. cit. I. pp. 279-284.

put on by the nobility, the spear target-throwing (tolo) (in which a

/268 cont./

524 565 526 spear tossed high had to hit a wooden disk on impact) (731)

731. Ibid. II. p. 343.

and the distance-throwing of a spear (sika [mamao]) (732)

732. See E.W. Gifford, Tongan society. p. 126.

by men, as well as the catch game (hiko) with a ball, of women and girls. (733)

733. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 344.

223 565 Shooting kalae birds with bow and arrow (using decoys) was a sport (fana kalae) (734)

734. See ibid. I. pp. 246-248.

carried on only by the big chiefs, just as pigeon catching (sia lupe) (with pole-nets on artificial hills, with the use of stool pigeons) was also a privilege of the nobility. (735)

735. See ibid. II. pp. 341/342; E.W. Gifford, loc. cit. p. 117.

226 526 Likewise to be mentioned are bonito fishing (alo?) (with trolling from a boat) (736)

736. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 342/343.

and surf-riding (fanifo). (737)

737. Ibid. p. 343; E.W. Gifford, loc. cit. p. 299.

526 At large festivals, sporting contests carried out before a multitude of onlookers and under the supervision of referees were very popular. On these occasions there were men's duels with clubs (fetangi?) having thick, green /269/ coconut-palm handles, (738)

738. See J. Cook, Beschreibung.../Description/ loc. cit. VI. pp. 169, 260; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 42.

men's wrestling matches (fangatua) (739)

739. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. pp. 169, 211, 260; J. Sparks, The life of John Ledyard /cited in English/. 2nd edition.

526 /269 cont./

Cambridge 1829. pp. 52/53; M.L.A. Milet-Mureau, Voyage de La Perouse.../Voyage of the Perouse/ I. p. 293; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 42.

and boxing matches of men and women (fuhu). (740)

740. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. pp. 169/170; J. Sparks, loc. cit. pp. 52/53; M.L.A. Milet-Mureau, loc. cit. I. p. 294; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 42.

A few children's games have also been handed down to us. (741)

[113] 741. See J. D. Whitcombe, "Notes on Tongan Ethnology." /cited in English/ B.P.B.M. Occ. Papers. vol. IX no. 9. 1930. pp. 7/8.

In the kamotu'u boys' game one of the boys standing in the center of the circle had to guess who touched him while he had his eyes closed. In the ngali ngali a toke, a boy had to catch one of a row of boys running in a circle. In the touhuhu game the boys had to try to spear with sticks a grapefruit turned on a pole. The boys also occupied themselves with a catapult (tafau), with small bows and arrows and a slingshot (makata) made of tapa or hibiscus bast. Old women played "scare and chase" with small girls by throwing tapa over themselves. Boys and girls tried to "flip" /"dipsen" is evidently a colloquial or dialect expression, and I'm not sure of the meaning. F.S./ pieces of hibiscus wood over a mat set upright (fisi-game)

524 526 178 [223] The games mentioned do not include all, but probably some of the most important activities carried out in ancient Tonga for amusement and diversion. The interest in individual games varied, and the fact that a hunting game such as pigeon catching was already "out of fashion" in 1800 (742)

742. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 341.

leads one to conclude that the number and kinds of games sometimes changed in the course of the centuries-old, autonomous development of Tongan culture.

/269 cont./

of Tongan culture.

524 526 177 178 The changes which occurred in this field in recent times as a result of European influences, however, comes close to a collapse. All the aforementioned games of adults, with the exception of lafo and hiko, have today been forgotten. Although lafo is familiar to some Tongans and is occasionally played, now also by commoners, it is rather insignificant compared to other games customary today. Hiko is apparently a children's game more than it was in the past (see below).

European games have generally replaced the ancient Tongan ones. [525] Playing cards are seen today in most settlements, and various kinds of card games (sometimes also played for money, despite prohibition) have become known in Archipelago. /270/ But sports have become more widespread. 526 177 Cricket is today rather popular and, to judge by the cement courts seen in many villages and now partly disintegrated, it was played far more a few decades ago than it is today. The natives like to use bats cut from breadfruit wood and balls made of nonu wood (also, [824] instead of these, moli Tonga = tough oranges). The enthusiasm for tennis varies in individual villages. Young Tongans especially like to play it. They play with home-made wooden rackets that in shape are copied from European rackets (or else with regular rackets) and with European rubber balls or genuine tennis balls which they buy in shops; usually an old rectangular fishnet serves as net. Such tennis games are arranged at any time of the day (except on Sundays) on grassy areas in the villages. They usually do not bother to have a precisely marked-off court, but they try to play "singles" and "doubles" with scores if they know the rules. While tennis in many villages (even on the small islands) is the typical summer game, they devote themselves to football (rugby), which involves more movement, during the cooler time of year. The players are 30 to 40 years old, and they fight with more or less skill for the ball (bought at the shopkeeper's) and the goals. In some

/270 cont./

526 villages there are also table tennis installations; the game of
177 billards, however, is limited to the chief towns of the Archipelago.

541 Horse-racing, especially on Tongatapu and Vava'u, is also popular; it is engaged in mostly by young men who race along a definite course before a rather large crowd of onlookers (of all ages and classes) on horses kept in the villages; the victor always receives a prize in
526 money or goods. At the large school sport festivals (especially in Nuku'alofa/Tongatapu), gymnastics and track-and-field events attract lively interest of the people.

857 Today, children play among themselves, for the most part also in
526 European fashion. Following the example of adults, the boys like to
177 play cricket and tennis. In this they are, of course, not pretentious; when they play tennis, for example, a rope stretched between two palm trees serves as the "net" and with a simple wooden bat they knock an
857 old tennis ball over it. Marbles bought at the storekeeper's are pop-
524 ular among smaller boys. Many boys have little kites stretched with
177 packing paper; these the boys also make more simply by /271/ inserting the midribs of two coconut leaflets crosswise through a piece of paper torn from their school notebooks and then, with the help of a string, they let this simple wind-bird provided with a tapa tail climb five to fifteen meters into the air. Empty corned-beef cans with their colorful labels also serve as toys; boys aged about eight to twelve like to push around "can scooters" consisting of two such (low) cans forming "wheels" that are nailed to the ends of a short piece of wood in the center of which the "shaft" is fastened at right angles. Ten- to twelve-year-old boys often put together small sailboats with a halved coconut (or a wooden) hull and a tree leaf (or scrap of cotton) as a sail; they let this little boat sail in shallow water. Some boys also play with carved wooden propellers that are nailed to a small rod and that
526 turn in the wind. Boys aged about eight to thirteen like to ride the
857

/271 cont./

526 surf--as did the men in ancient Tonga; several of them (up to about 20)
857 let rather big waves carry them to the beach on box lids or other pieces of wood (approximately 70-100 centimeters long) which they use as "surf-
524 boards." It is possible that the "pop-cork" game which the boys nowadays
857 seldom play is of ancient Tongan origin.
[178] It consists of a small bamboo tube, two balls of twisted tapa and a wooden rod; they stick one ball in the lower end of the tube, shove it up to the mouth with the rod, then insert the second ball and push it up with the little stick while holding the tube vertically. With a loud bang the first ball shoots high into the air.

524 Girls at the age of six to twenty still like to play the ancient
857 Tongan game of "hiko."
883
[178] They throw two to six balls (=vaine fruits [Passiflora species]) (the number of balls depending on their ski'l) into the air, one after the other, catch them successively and keep on throwing the caught balls up again, so that all buy one are in the air. Sometimes they sing
[533] children's songs to this. If there are two players the second girl has a turn if the first makes a mistake or if she has been successful throughout the singing of the entire verse. Nowadays the hiko game is also
[871] taught in school, the teacher appointing a girl /to teach it/ from the village who is particularly skilled in it.

524 "Moa" is apparently not a very old game of skill played by girls
857 approximately seven to twelve years of age.

"Moa" is played with five Aleurites nuts. Two to three girls sit together. One of them starts to play by laying the five nuts on the ground, picking one up, throwing it in the air (about 1.50 meters) and, while /272/ it is still in the air, picking up a second nut with the same hand and then catching the first one. This tossing-picking up-catching is repeated until finally all five nuts are in the girl's hand.

/272 cont./

524 857 There are numerous variations of this game; for example, in the subsequent tossing series, while the first nut is in the air, a girl will pick up three of the four nuts lying on the ground and finally the last one, or she will keep all five nuts in her hand, throw one in the air, put another on the ground while the first one is in flight, then catch the first one and continue with this tossing-putting down-catching until all five nuts have been placed on the ground. If she misses catching one, if her hand slips, she has lost and another girl takes her turn.

Nowadays girls also sometimes play "Hinkekasten" /?/ and the smaller ones also simply play with empty cans to which they fasten a piece of string so that they have a little pail. The coconut-shell "stilts" with which one sometimes sees little girls walking around are, as the name indicates (su nge'esi niu = coconut-shell shoes), a modern toy; they put their feet on two coconut-shell halves lying on their open sides on the ground; on each of these, through a hole in the curvature, a band (for example, a pandanus-leaf strip) is fastened, and by pulling these bands which are slipped between the first two toes and drawing them taut with their hands they hold the shells firmly under their feet and can stalk about in this way.

524 526 177 [797] In summary we may say about the modern games of adults and children that most of them are of European origin. This change probably came about chiefly as a result of the influence of Wesleyan puritanical missionaries who strove to replace the "heathen games" with church services, prayers and bible-study. (743)

743. See Th. West, Ten years...pp. 213/214.

[565] The democratization of the Islands brought about by Christianization led to a decline of the power of the nobility and with it the loss of games tied to the nobility, as well as group sports and contests organized at the suggestion of the nobility. After Christianization of

100: Koch--413 E-4,5 (1951-1952) 1955 OU9 Tonga OU9

/272 cont./

524 526 [177] [517] the Archipelago European games replaced the ancient Tonga ones, some of which were by that time already forgotten or seemed uninteresting. Probably people play less today in Tonga than they did in the past, for the church takes up much of the Tongans' time, and the energy required by their work (on plantations and at copra production) is now greater than it was in past centuries. Nonetheless, the idea of play, though in new forms, has been preserved on the Islands.

/273/ 6. THEIR KNOWLEDGE

861 178 [871] In ancient Tonga the natives learned everything they needed to know for living through oral tradition, unsystematic guidance and their own experience. To judge from ancient sources, there were no "schools" of any kind (not even for priests and seafarers). The young natives of both sexes and all ranks grew into their life tasks and in this way acquired all the knowledge they needed to regulate their affairs.

Today too most Tongan men and women do not obtain the knowledge they need for their everyday life systematically; they simply imitate their elders; they learn chiefly by "seeing and taking part." Tonga--as in the past--is an island country with a predominantly farming population. Only a few trades are more widespread and, in contrast to the past, only a small group of natives out of the total number of inhabitants are engaged in newly created professions. (744)

744. See pp. 358-361.

From the standpoint of present economic life, an increase and change in their knowledge as seen from the European point of view is scarcely necessary, since in the villages children as a matter of course grow into the activities of their parents (who are "masters of their world"), and on the small islands there are few opportunities of applying the school-acquired knowledge of the whites.

871 177 797 Nevertheless, schools were established in the Archipelago as early

T F 795 171 /310 cont./ Likewise in the ecclesiastical sphere conditions in both island groups are similar insofar as /311/ there are likewise various denominations in the Fiji Archipelago; (36)

36. Wesleyan Church, Roman Catholic Church, Adventists, Anglican Church, Presbyterians.

yet these natives have not come around to founding churches independently.

T F 533 538 535 177 In the field of art it can be noted that both song and instrumental music as well as poetry and the dance have undergone changes (adoption of European heritage, fusion of old and new, loss of ancient cultural heritage) similar to those undergone by the corresponding arts of the Tongans. Games too seem changed, as in Tonga.

T F 524 F 872 177 In /the realm of general/ knowledge and hence in the Fijian conception of the world, European influences (especially schools and churches) likewise have their effects. Almost every native child today has an elementary school education--as in the Tonga Archipelago--and in general the children here too learn quite willingly. The system of transmitting European knowledge through schools is, however, limited since the effectiveness of some elementary schools still leaves much to be desired, and relatively few pupils have the opportunity for higher education. The Tongan educational system seems somewhat more progressive in this respect, and actually offers too much schooling for conditions there. While in that Archipelago the young people who have successfully attended college and can find no entrance to the higher professions devote themselves as a matter of course to the farm work of their fathers, it is reported in this colony that those whose school education is completed largely scorn village life and, we are told, there is a "constant increase of a discontented class of half-educated youth" /cited in English/. (37)

T 871

T F 871 182 T [873] [463] F [571]

104: Hornell E,N-5 (1925) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

524 171 Handy records 30 games and sequences from the Marquesas and 25 from the Society Islands. With the 5 figures recorded by me for Tahiti the total for each group is 30.

My stay in Samoa was too brief to permit much time being given to this subject. None of the European residents had ever seen or heard of any string games known to the natives. When I discovered that several were common and widely known, the suggestion was made that they had been introduced by Europeans and could not be of ancient date. This view is obviously erroneous for though one of the six Samoan games is known in Europe and two others are common to Samoa, to various other Polynesian islands, and to Melanesia, the methods of working the remaining three are unknown at present outside of Samoa itself. I found that every fisher lad and lass knew one or more of the six games, as did also many of the girls attending the Convent school in Apia, although the Sisters in charge had never been aware of this fact. Considering that all the figures or games were collected within five miles of Apia it is very probable that 000 the fringe only of the subject has been touched. Inquiry in the country districts and in the neighboring islands will assuredly repay richly anyone who is willing to devote time to the subject and who has sufficient sympathy with the villagers to overcome the peculiar reluctance of most natives to acknowledge acquaintance with these games—a reluctance due probably to a fear of ridicule for indulgence in a pastime which they fancy the materialistic white man is apt to consider childish.

524 Tonga is another rich field for study. Here ten distinct figures were obtained, but five of these follow as sequences to others. A large number remain to be found and placed on record and until this has been done no comprehensive comparison of relationship can be made.

524 171 A longer sojourn and specially favorable opportunities in the Fijian archipelago resulted in the collection of 58 figures. As 28 of these represent sequences of a primary figure, there remains a net total of 30 separate and distinct games, the same number as for the Marquesas and for the Society Islands. These numbers have been approached only by Jenness (12) who recorded 48 figures from Goodenough Island in the D'Entrecasteaux Archipelago.

128 In describing these Fijian figures I do not propose to adopt the classification devised by Handy (10), who uses the terms: stationary figures, progressing figures, sliding figures, figures made by two persons, catches and trick figures, and three dimensioned figures. My chief reason for not following this grouping is that many of the figures partake of the characters of two of the classes mentioned, thus rendering it difficult to locate them satis-

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128 factorily and leading to an arbitrary assignment. The figures here described are set down therefore approximately in the order of their complexity when completed, those without known sequent figures preceding those that form a series of figures, whether worked by a single player or by two players. The two divisions thus formed are about equal in constituent numbers.

524 171 Most Fijian string figures are named after some familiar object which they are supposed to represent. There is thus a large animal series including the owl, the crane, the caterpillar, the butterfly, the flying-fox, the fish (*Periophthalmus*), the sting-ray, the turtle, the land-crab, and the snake. The molluscs are represented by a figure vividly suggestive of the opening and shutting of the valves of the giant clam (*Tridacna*). Other figures represent tavola and ivi trees, and the leaves of the screw-pine (*Pandanus*). In a few figures the Fijians see a resemblance to the sun in one form or another, his rays shooting upwards from the horizon at daybreak or in full symmetry when high in the heavens. One figure is named "the star," having four branches which represent rays.

Many familiar objects of daily life and various household articles find representation, for example, a house, a canoe, a fishing net, a mat, a roll of sennit, a basket, a wicker food-platter, a breadfruit cut open and whale's teeth (formerly used as a valuable form of present).

Unlike the games of the Society Islands, those of Fiji have but few geographical allusions; the references are limited to Koro and Wakaia islands and to a point and an island (Undu Point and Koro Island) situated over against one another, separated still further as the tide rises.

Unlike many games in New Zealand, in the Marquesas, and in the Society Islands, no Fijian game that I know has any mythological significance. Neither does any sign survive to indicate that any of these games ever had a magical value corresponding to those employed in Papua in connection with the planting of yams, as recorded by Landtman (13) and by Jenness (12). Possibly this absence is attributable to the blight of missionary influence upon old customs and games however innocuous or innocent; any such game that existed may have been suppressed by being banned or by having its name changed or boudlerized. (See Handy, 10, pp. 7 and 8.) *Tevoro* is possibly one of these, as the name is merely the Fijian rendering of the English word "devil." The agent in such changes or suppressions has usually been the native catechist or pastor, a man too frequently fanatical in his consuming desire to purge his flock of everything that could possibly remind them of their former god and heroes.

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524 171 533 A large number of Fijian string games were originally worked out to the accompaniment of a chant. Many of these chants are almost certainly of great antiquity for the meaning of several of them is not now understood fully by those who repeat the words.

524 171 Whatever the custom in former times, string games in Fiji are played nowadays solely for pastime; even this custom is dying out before the spread of hymn singing, the attendance at football matches, and the general and rapid deterioration of the native culture.

Fijian string games are termed collectively *vei thiu* in those localities where the aristocratic Mbauan dialect is spoken; in Vanua Levu they are usually called *vei sanga.*

ETHNOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE

524 171 128 To exhibit the geographical distribution of the figures described from Fiji and Tonga, Table 1 and Table 2 have been prepared.

In making these tables I have utilized, with one exception, only those figures the constructive movements of which are sufficiently similar to permit no doubt of common origin. Figures like those described by Roth (16), in which the final design alone is known, and those in which the movements leading up to similar concluding designs are fundamentally different, have been rigorously excluded. The single exception is the geographic figures representing two islands vis-à-vis, namely, the Fijian figure "Koro and Wakaia," and the Society Islands figure "Tahiti and Moorea." These I include as equivalent and common in origin because of the similarity in the underlying idea.

524 171 Table 1 amply demonstrates the predominance of Melanesian influence in Fiji. Of the 30 solitary or independent figures and series of figures which I have recorded from Fiji, the large total of 12 has been recorded also from New Caledonia, Loyalty Islands, Torres Strait, D'Entrecasteaux Archipelago, and the Fly River district of New Guinea.

Relationship with Tonga comes next in importance, 7 figures being common to Fiji and Tonga. Three of these are not found in New Caledonia and New Guinea areas, suggesting that they are not of Melanesian origin. Nine are common to Fiji and to the Society-Marquesas islands taken as one ethnic and geographic unit, 6 of which are found also in Tonga. It therefore may be concluded that at least most of these figures, as well as those with range restricted to the Society Islands, the Marquesas, Tonga, and Samoa, belong to Polynesian culture.

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TABLE 1. DISTRIBUTION OF FIJIAN STRING FIGURES

Fiji	New Caledonia Loyalty	New Guinea Torres Strait[a]	New Zealand	Tonga	Samoa	Gilbert, Ellice, Tokelau	Society	Marquesas	Carolines	Other Regions
balawa A			matamata-kare							world wide
balawa B		baur								java India (?)
ika		so uso								
lulu		sirar							grating coconut	
kalokalo		sisiafwatu								Africa
banuve	madin (N. C.) inyi (Lifu)	kultur manu lansi-si				amen-nibek (Nauru)			one chief	
velovelo	tim (Lifu)	gul ti-meta					apoo mahai ahaana			
wannga-ni-Viti	nameless			ipu-sioata						Africa
sanga ndondoli		devane tup								
tambua			moti	pilita-eiku			moo			
bokola								tataiahue		
tevoro	bracelets					teuila kalisi			diamonds	
imbi-nunga	watasith									
Koro and Wakaia							Tahiti and Moorea			
imbi series	nameless		tara-kaikape	loukabe			firi rau anani	koukape	ten men betel leaf-sheath	
lalakai and mata-ni-singa	sugar-cane Parts I and II									
suviauto mawa				matamata kupenga Part I	moenga	tapa tafa	ioio	tohiau Part I	turtle	Philippines
kapa				matamata kupenga Part II		tapa tafa Part II		tohiau Part II	ten times	Philippines

[a] Includes D'Entrecasteaux Archipelago.

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The comparatively large number of figures common to Tonga and Fiji indicate long-standing cultural connection between these island groups, a conclusion justified by all other evidence. It is likely that the total number of string figures common to the two will be considerably increased when those of Tonga become better known. The same conclusion should hold good of the relationship of Samoan figures with those of Fiji.

That 6 of the Fijian games (9 figures) are found also in the Society and Marquesas islands is a fact of importance, more particularly as 2 of these 6—the Fijian *imbi* and *kapa* series—are intricate and serial and require the intervention of a second player. The most complex of these, the Fijian *imbi*, together with its two principal sequences, is known also in

TABLE 2. DISTRIBUTION OF TONGAN STRING FIGURES

Tonga	Fiji	Samoa	New Caledonia	New Zealand	Society	Marquesas	Gilbert Ellice	Carolines
pilitaeiku	tambua			moti	moo			
ipu sioata	wangga-ni-Viti		nameless					
matamata kupenga	suviauto mawa	moenga			ioio	tohiau	tafa tapa	turtle
loukabe	imbi		nameless	tara-kaikape	firi rau anani	koukape		betel leaf-sheath ten men

New Zealand, in the Carolines, and in New Caledonia. This particular game, known throughout the greater part of Polynesia, is most probably of Polynesian origin, its presence in Fiji and New Caledonia (or rather in the Loyalty Islands, where Compton found it) being due to contact with Polynesian culture.

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The names of this game as used in Polynesia are also suggestive of a common Polynesian origin. It is known as *loukabe* in Tonga, *tara kaikape* and *tonga raurepe* in New Zealand, *koukape* in the Marquesas, and *firi rau anani* in the Society Islands. The word *kape* (*kabe*) is Polynesian for *Alocasia macrorrhiza*, a magnificent aroid bearing gigantic leaves, conspicuously ribbed on the underside with a network of peculiarly prominent thickened veins. The term *lau* (*rau*) likewise significes "leaf." The Marquesan name, *koukape*, is suspiciously like the Tongan *loukabe* and the Maori *raurepe* and *kaikape*, but Handy (10, p. 8) states that *koukape* means the intestinal mesentery, which had an old-time magical significance. The relationship of these terms might usefully be investigated by the philologist.

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524 171 It is also noteworthy that the *imbi* is the most widely spread of any string game, either single or serial, in Oceania. In Samoa and in the Gilbert, Tokelau, and Ellice islands, where it has not been recorded, I feel sure that it will eventually be found.

The relationships of the Tongan figures are wholly Polynesian if Fiji be excluded. Only one form is common to Tonga and the New Caledonia area, whereas 2 of the total 10 are found in New Zealand and 3 in the Society and Marquesas islands. Of these 3, one appears also in Samoa and in the Ellice and Tokelau islands.

The Samoan figures are not sufficiently numerous to permit useful or valid conclusions to be drawn, except that 2 of them betoken close relationship with the islands to the westward.

121 As pointed out by Handy (10a) a study of string figures has thrown a strong light on the relationships of primitive peoples, but much more information from many island groups is necessary before the full value of the geographical study of string games can be utilized adequately in the solution of the ethnological problems of Melanesia and Polynesia. The present collection has perhaps its chief value in breaking new ground in certain island groups. What has been done in Samoa and in Tonga is not a tithe of what may be accomplished there if an investigator with tact and a knowledge of the language devotes adequate time to the study. Fiji is so prolific a field that I am satisfied that numerous games remain unrecorded. Immediate attention to this subject is, however, necessary, for the people are rapidly forgetting the games and in a few years many will have become irretrievably lost. I would direct special attention to the collection of the chants associated with many of the games. Wherever possible these have been recorded in this collection.

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TERMINOLOGY

128 In the description of the movements required to evolve the various figures, I have adopted the technical terms devised by Rivers and Haddon (15), and used also by Handy (10), who describes the terminology in the following convenient form:

> The back of the hand and fingers is referred to as the dorsal side; the palm, as the palmar side; so that a string or a loop is said to lie on the dorsal or the palmar side of the hand or a finger, is picked up on the dorsal or the palmar side of a digit. The little finger side of the hand is called the ulnar side; the thumb side, the radial side; so that strings are said to be ulnar or radial according as they lie on the side of a finger towards the little finger or towards the thumb. Similarly, the direction of the rotation of a hand or a finger is designated as in the ulnar or in the radial direction, according as it describes an arc or a circle starting towards the little finger side of the hand or towards the thumb side.

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STRING FIGURES FROM TONGA

PILITALEIKU

1. Opening A.

2. Insert the index fingers from the distal side into the little finger loops, pick up on their dorsal sides the little finger ulnar strings and return to the original position.

3. Join the tips of the index finger and thumb of each hand and slip the thumb loops on to the index over these joined tips. Return to position.

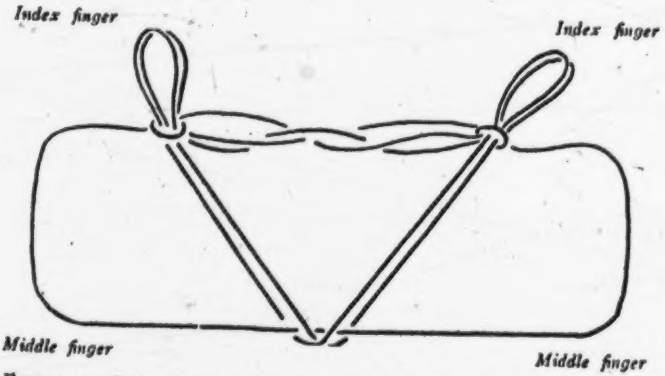

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FIGURE 51.—String figure, *pilitaleiku* (*pilitaeiku*) (tailless lizard), learned from Mrs. Jiojiana Lupe, Tongatabu, Tonga.

4. Rotate the index fingers in the ulnar direction, catching up in their course on their palmar sides, the little finger radials and continue the full rotation to position.

5. Place the tip of each thumb against the tip of the adjoining index and transfer the index loops to the thumbs by slipping them over the conjoined tips.

6. Rotate the index fingers in the ulnar direction, pick up on their palmar sides the little finger ulnar strings; continue the rotation and thrust the index fingers into the thumb loops from the distal side, reverse the rotation to the radial direction and pick up on their dorsal sides the double thumb ulnar strings, continuing the rotation back to position. Release the thumb loops.

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524 7. Insert the thumbs into the little finger loop from the proximal direction, keeping close to the little fingers. Join the tips of the index finger and thumb of each hand, and keeping them joined, turn the index fingers down into the little finger loops, withdrawing the thumbs.

8. Turn the palms upwards, and insert the thumbs into the two distal index loops. Release the little finger loops and spread the index fingers and thumbs, drawing the strings taut. (There are now a double loop on each thumb and a treble loop on each index, the strings of the third loop crossing in zig-zags from back to front in the form of three V's as shown in figure 52.)

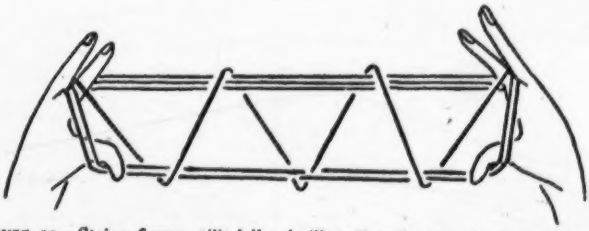

FIGURE 52.—String figure, *pilitaleiku* (tailless lizard), at end of movement No. 8.

9. From below, hook the middle fingers upon the side strings of the central V, pull out sideways and downwards, release the index finger loops and pull taut.

10. Release the thumbs, insert the index fingers in the middle finger loops and extend, when the "tailless lizard" appears. It ought by right to be called the "stump-tailed lizard," as two loops appear, one being the head and the other the remains of a tail. The lizard represented is, I believe, the house gecko, which is very partial to self-mutilation, when in danger of capture.

524 171 The working of this game is identical with the Maori *moti* (*mouti*) up to the end of movement 9 (1, vol. III, p. 91), where the Tongan one ends. The Fijian *tambua* (fig. 13) and the Society Islands *moo* (10, p. 66) are closely related.

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TAFUE-A-FANENE (FUE-A-FANENE)

1. Extend the string upon the index fingers.

2. Going distal, take the ulnar string at the middle point between the lips.

3. Passing the right hand mouth string on the distal side, catch up from the proximal side the left hand mouth string upon the right index

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and return, and similarly catch up the right hand string on the back of the left index finger, passing distal to the left hand mouth string; release the mouth strings.

4. Pass the thumbs over the proximal index radial string, and take up on their backs the proximal index ulnar strings and return.

5. Repeat with the distal index strings.

6. Bending the middle fingers down take up on their backs the proximal index radial strings, passing distal to the distal index radial strings to do so.

7. Each middle finger is now within a small triangular space. With the lips lift off the string passing across the palmar side of this finger,

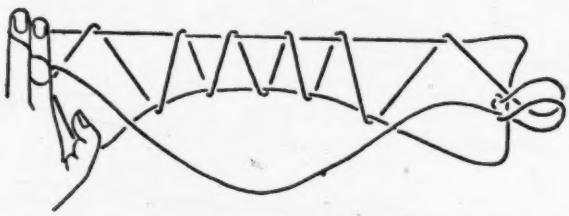

FIGURE 53.—String figure, *tafue-a-Fanene* or *fue-a-Fanene* (Fanene's skipping rope), learned from Mrs. Jiojiana Lupe, Tongatabu, Tonga.

releasing the string passing around its dorsal side, and slip the former string over the tip of the same finger. Repeat three or four times on each hand.

8. Place the thumb from above upon the palmar string of this twisted loop, press down, release the strings on the thumbs and extend.

It will be found that one of the thumb strings hangs loose and can be thrown backwards and forwards over the stretched figure—the skipping rope.

MAILE-LAU-MOMO

The procedure for *maile-lau-momo* is the same as *tafue* (fig. 53) except that; (1) in No. 3 the left hand goes proximal instead of distal in taking up the right hand string running from the mouth and that (2) it is preferable to make only two or at most three twists in the middle finger loop (No. 7). When extended, the figure shows a series of double zig-

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When extended, the figure shows a series of double zigzags between two parallel lines—a figure akin to the Fijian *sanga ndondoli*. Another continuation forms *matapa-a-Tenioko* (Tenioko's gate, fig. 55).

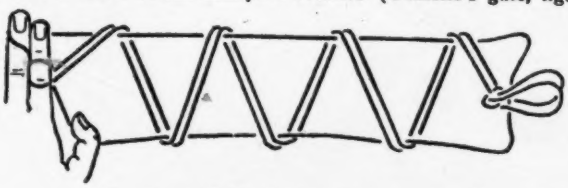

FIGURE 54.—String figure, *maile-lau-momo*.

MATAPA-A-TENIOKO

1. Make *tafue-a-Fanene* (fig. 53), hanging the loose string pendent on the far side.

2. With the thumbs which press down the palmar strings of the twisted loop, catch up upon their palmar faces the loose or skipping string, and hold it down together with the palmar string of the twisted middle finger loop. Extend the figure, turning the palms of the hands outwards.

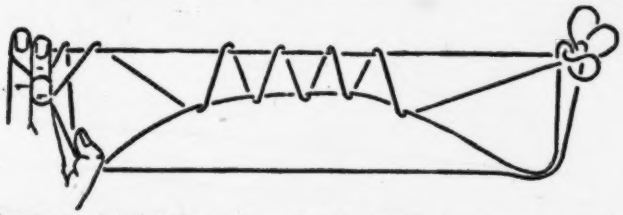

FIGURE 55.—String figure, *matapa-a-Tenioko* (Tenioko's gateway or the Tenioko gate, if, as is possible, Tenioko is a place name), learned from Mrs. Jiojiana Lupe, Tongatabu, Tonga.

The result is an archway or bridge-like figure. If desired, the number of loops on the archway may be increased by giving more twists to the middle finger loops when making the *tafue-a-Fanene* figure.

IPU SIOATA

FIRST PART

1. Take a double turn with a closed loop round the big toe, so that one string passes across the upper surface of the toe.

2. Thrust each hand from the proximal side through the upper portion of the free loop, bend each outwards over its respective side-cord,

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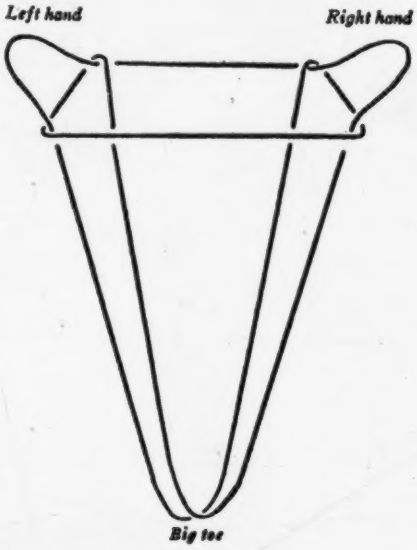
524 then, turning the hands first downwards and then towards one another, pass them again through the loop and bring them up. A loop now passes twice across the back of each wrist and once across the inner side.

3. Bend the hands down and catch with the index finger and thumb of each hand the loop crossing the upper surface of the big toe at two points. Pull up this loop as far as possible, running the cord through the fingers as the hands draw apart, and allowing the wrist loops to slip off, over the strings that are being pulled up with the fingers.



[115] FIGURE 56.—String figure, *ipu sioata* (drinking glass) learned from a native girl at Neiafu, Vavau Island.

SECOND PART

A continuation of this figure was carried out by the same girl, similar to the Fijian *mavu* (fig. 38), which is also begun by some players with this *ipu sioata* opening. The second part of *matamata kupenga* (fig. 58) is likewise sometimes worked from the resultant figure as this is similar in its meshing, though the finger holds are different.

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MATAMATA KUPENGA

First Part

1. Opening A.
2. Release the little finger loops.
3. Transfer the thumb loops to the index fingers by passing the latter into the loops proximal, and withdrawing the thumbs.
4. Pass the thumb of right hand over the proximal index radial string and under the proximal index ulnar, and return with it; the same with the left thumb.
5. Repeat the operation with the distal index strings.
6. Pass the middle fingers over the distal and under the proximal

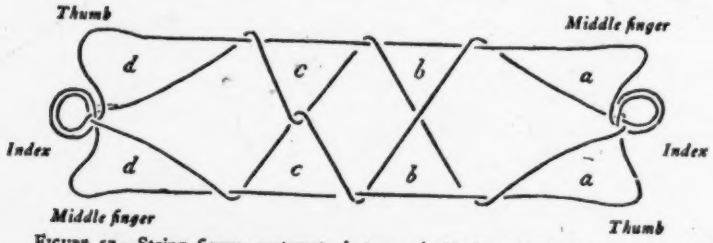

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FIGURE 57.—String figure, *matamata kupenga* (spider's web), first part. Learned from a woman in Neiafu, Vavau Island.

index radials and return to position with the index radials upon their backs.

7. Navaho the thumbs.
8. Turn the left hand inwards until the palm is upwards. The figure will appear as shown in figure 57.

Second Part

The game is continued by a second player who passes from above his little fingers into the triangular spaces *a*, *a*, immediately adjacent to the middle finger and thumb of the first player's right hand, and his thumbs into the triangular marginal spaces *b*, *b*, also from above, and then raises them from below through the adjoining triangular spaces *c*, *c*; afterwards the little fingers which have already passed from above through *a*, *a*, are brought up from below through spaces *d*, *d*, which are those through which the left thumb and middle finger of first player pass respectively. The second player then lifts the figure from off his companion's fingers and extends it on his own little fingers and thumbs. This gives the "spider's web" figure as shown in figure 58.

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524 The game is continued by the first player (A) and second player (B) competing in speed in reforming the figure as follows, B first gives corner spaces *a'*, *a'* to A who inserts his thumbs into them. Then A puts his index fingers through spaces *a'*, *a'*, from below, and into central space *b* from above. B does similarly with spaces *a*, *a* and down through

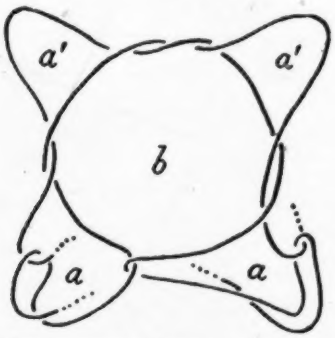

FIGURE 58.—String figure, *matamata kupenga*; second part. Half of the figure only is shown; the other half is duplicate and is superposed on this.

b. The two then extend the figure between them, pulling out the thumbs which are kept in the corner spaces while the figure is reforming. Then they replace the index fingers by the thumbs and repeat *ad infinitum* till one player makes a mistake. This figure is identical with the Fijian *kapa*. [171]

LOUKABE

1. Opening A.

2. Release the thumb loops.

3. Going distal pick up the little finger ulnar with the lips and draw out.

4. Pass the right index distal to the right mouth string and proximal to the left one; catch the latter upon the dorsal side of its tip and return; similarly going proximal take the right mouth string on the back of the left index. Extend, releasing the mouth loop.

5. Pass the thumbs proximal to the index loops and thrust them into the little finger loops from the proximal side; return with the little finger radials on their backs. Pass the thumbs next into the distal index loops from below and return with the distal index radials on the backs of the thumbs.

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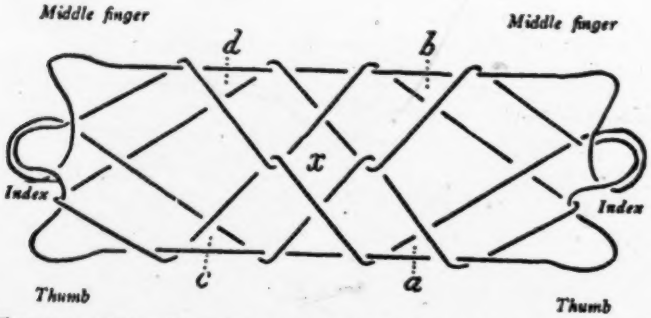
S24 6. Navaho the thumbs and release the distal index loops by slipping them over the index tips.

7. Transfer the thumb loops to the index fingers, passing the latter from below into the thumb loops.

8. Repeat movement 5.



[115] FIGURE 59.—String figure, *loukabe* (kabe leaf), learned from a Tongan girl at Neiafou, Vavau Island.

9. Pass the middle fingers distal to the two index ulnar strings, into the index loops, hook up upon their tip, the proximal index radial strings and return.

10. Navaho the thumbs.

11. Release the little finger loops and extend, turning the palms downwards into a horizontal position.

S24 171 The *loukabe* figure is identical both in working and result with the Caroline Islands "ten men," and also with the Maori *tonga raurepe* save in the earlier moves where there is notable difference. There seemed a probability that the name *raurepe* was a variant of *laukape*, especially as S24 it is prefixed by the adjective "*tonga*." But Andersen (1, vol. 4, p. 247) 192 says that *tonga raurepe* is the name of an ancester of the Maori tribe 171 called Ngati-Porou, and is restricted thereto. Among the Whanganui tribes it is called *tara kai kape*, the *kape* again suggestive of close relationship with Tonga.

This figure and its sequences are also similar to the Marquesan *koukape* and the Society Islands *firi rou anani*. The Marquesan name of *koukape* is suspiciously like the Tongan *loukabe*, but Handy (10, p. 8) states that *koukape* signifies the intestinal mesentery, and also the name of a fish given as medicine to a woman after childbirth. She adds that it had an old-time magical significance. The use of *kape* or *kabe* in the

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names of this figure in the Marquesas, Tonga, and New Zealand can scarcely be a coincidence without meaning. Possibly the original form of the word *koukape* has undergone some mutilation or corruption, leading thereby to a misunderstanding of its significance.

The term *kabe* or *kape* is applied in Tonga to *Alocasia macrorrhiza*, an aroid of extremely stout growth, having huge leaves prominently veined. The tubers of *kabe* are used in the same way as those of taro (*talo*).

TOLOA

1. Make the *laukabe* figure.

2. A second player inserts from above the thumb and index of his left hand into and through the marginal triangles *a* and *b* respectively, and similarly his right thumb and index into *c* and *d*, bringing all four digits upwards through the central diamond space *x*. Upon extension the figure *toloa* is formed.

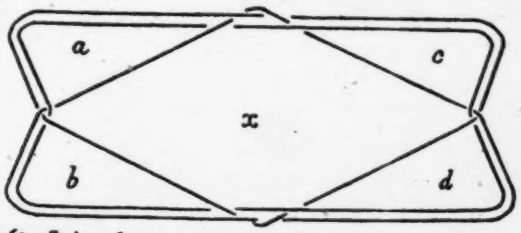

FIGURE 60.—String figure, *toloa* (the Southern Cross), learned from Mrs. Jiojiana Lupe, of Tongatabu, Tonga.

From this another astronomical figure, *humu*, the "coal hole," can be formed.

In Tongan *toloa* is a wild duck and Collocott (5a) states that "Tongan imagination pictures the Southern Cross as a duck whose head is gamma and tail alpha, the wings being beta and delta"—the dark patch of clear sky near the left end of the cross is *humu*, a kind of fish.

HUMU

The *humu* figure is a continuation of *toloa*. The first player passes his right finger and thumb from above through the corner triangles at one end, *a* and *b* respectively, and those of his left hand similarly through triangles *c* and *d*, at the other end, thereafter turning all four upwards and

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passing them from below through the center diamond *x*. The result is a figure identical with the Maori *wahine* and closely akin to the Samoan *paa*.

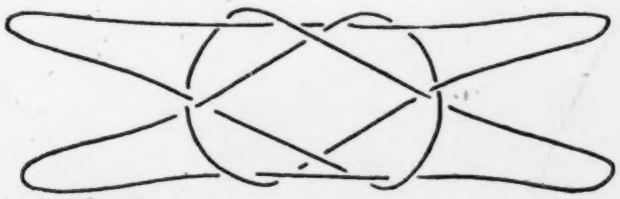

FIGURE 61.—String figure, *humu* (the Coal-hole, under the Southern Cross), learned from Mrs. Jiojiana Lupe, of Tongatabu, Tonga.

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This series of *laukabe*, *toloa* and *humu* is an exact parallel of the Fijian series of *imbi*, *drau-ni-ivi* and *tavola;* There are certain minor differences between the working of *imbi* and *laukabe*, but there is no room for doubt that they have had a common origin. (See also the Fijian *vasua*, p. 43.)

[pp. 71-87 not processed]